# DISCOVERY OF SANSKRIT TREASURES

## GRAMMAR AND LINGUISTICS

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

# DISCOVERY OF SANSKRIT TREASURES

## VOLUME I

## GRAMMAR AND LINGUISTICS

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**YASH PUBLICATIONS**

## Preface

It was since mid-fifties that I had started writing for various periodicals. My general approach was to take up a topic which was entirely new or one which had not received proper attention. I was actuated in this by a sentence which had struck me while going through a footnote in the Preface to the new edition of A *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of M. Monier-Williams published in 1899: "I believe for an Alpine climber to establish reputation for mountaineering he must ascend some peak, however comparatively insignificant, that has never been ascended before (p.ix)."

My writing activity has continued to the present day spanning a period of half a century. During this period more than a century and a half of my articles on most disciplines of Sanskrit and Indology have appeared in various journals and magazines of India and abroad and the commemoration and the felicitation volumes. There is still a sizeable number of them awaiting publication. It struck a young friend of mine Dr. Pravin Pralayankar to bring out a compendium of them to make them easily available to the scholarly community. He out of love and devotion for me volunteered to do the work. Old issues of the journals and the magazines were dug into and the off-prints of the articles were put together. Wherever they were not available, they had to be photocopied from the relevant issues of the journals and the magazines and the commemoration and the felicitation volumes, arranged subjectwise and set in type. So were those still in manuscript. The result of this massive effort is the present seven volumes which are being placed in the hands of scholars.

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Since the articles had been appearing in journals and magazines from time to time, they did have some repetitive matter, particularly if they concerned one text or one theme. Now that they are appearing in book form, the repetition had to be avoided. This needed careful editing of all the available material which I had to do to the best of my capacity. Thus the articles "Unpāṇinian Forms in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*," "Notes on the Language of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*," 'Onomatopoeia in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, "Prepositional Verbs in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*", "A Note on *ka-(kan-)* ending words in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*", The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*–A Study in Vocabulary", "Taddhita Formations in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*", "Etymologies in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*," and "Synonyms in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*" which had appeared in the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, Vol. I, Part II, Sept. 1963; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1958; *Transactions of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi*, 1968; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1967; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Diamond Jubilee Volume, 1977-78; *Oscar Botto Felicitation Volume,* Torino, Italy, 1992; *Brahmavidyā*, Adyar Library Bulletin; *K.K. Raja Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Volume*, Madras, 1980 and *Prof. Biswanarayan Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Gorakhpur, 1992 respectively have been clubbed into one single study: "The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*–A Linguistic Appraisal". Similarly, the articles on Kālidāsa, "Kālidāsa's Philosophy of Life", "Kālidāsa's Ṛṣis" and "Vedic Sacrifices in Kālidāsa" which had appeared in *M.P.L. Sastry Felicitation Volume*, Bangalore, 1985, the *Ṛtam*, Gopal Chandra Sinha Felicitation Volume, Lucknow, 1986 and the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, J.H. Dave Felicitation Volume, Bombay, 1987 respectively have been put together under the title Kālidāsa Studies. The article "Fate in Kālidāsa which had appeared in *A.C. Swain Felicitation Volume*, Bhubaneswar, 1985 has been made a part of the article "Kālidāsa's Philosophy of Life" which now appears in the Volume on Classical Sanskrit Literature under the new title of Kālidāsa's Life-view. The articles concerning Hinduism, like the Festival of Spring and Dīpāvali which had appeared in the *Daily Tribune*, Ambala, Feb. 15, 1959 and Nov. 10, 1958 respectively

have been included in the Volume on Society and Culture under the title Hindu Studies. To these have been added two new studies, that had still been in manuscript, the 38 page study of Modern Hindu Society and a 12 page study of Hindu Marriage Ceremony. The two old studies on Jaina Sanskrit Dūtakāvyas, "The *Indudūta* of Vinavijayagaṇi" and the "Jaina *Meghadūta* of Merutuṅga" which had appeared in *The Poona Orientalist*, Poona, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4, 1959 and *Adhyayana-Anusandhāna*, Institute of Higher Studies and Research, Jaipur, Feb., 1974 respectively now form part of a general critical survey of the Sanskrit Dūtakāvyas. The various studies on Thailand which have appeared from time to time in various journals and commemoration and felicitation volumes have been clubbed together under Thai Studies to which has been added an hitherto unpublished detailed description in more than sixty pages of the fifty-odd of the old Hindu Shrines of Thailand. A notable study "Sanskrit Language and Literature: A Study in Environment" which had hitherto been in manuscript appears towards the close of the volume on Classical Sanskrit literature. The study on the Contribution of Muslims to Sanskrit in the Medieval Period, though not entirely new, however contains much new information. Entirely new certainly is the study on the Modern Christian Literature in Sanskrit. The articles connected with the Rāmāyaṇa or the Rāma story appear in a chain in the volume on Epics and Purāṇas. They are twelve of them. Of these the following seven: Historic Basis of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, The Role of Ṛṣis in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, The Episode of Ādityahṛdaya: The Hymn to the Sun in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Four Women Characters of Vālmīki: Mantharā, Kaikeyī, Śūrpaṇakhā and Mandodarī, Rāma Story in Thailand, Rāma Story in Laos and Sītā—How She is depicted in the Rāma Story of Southeast Asia have been newly added, while the rest of the five: Putreṣṭi in the *Rāmāyaṇa*: Was it Really necessary, Rāma the Ruler as Vālmīki reveals Him, Personality of Maharṣi Vālmīki as the *Rāmāyaṇa* reveals it, The Significance of Dreams in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and How the *Rāmāyaṇa* Began had appeared respectively in the *Indologica Taurinensia*, Torino, Italy, Vol. VI, 1979, *Proceedings of the International Rāmāyaṇa Conference*, Torino, Italy, 1992, *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*: *Advitīya Mahākāvya*,

Patiala, 1997, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vadodara, Vol. XL, Nos. 1-4, 1998-99 and *G.V. Tagare Felicitation Volume*, Sangli, 2001.

"Synonyms in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*" that had appeared in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. II, 1971 now forms part of the write-up on "Sanskrit Synonyms" that had appeared in the *Indologica Taurinensia*, Torino, Italy, Vol. III, 1977.

This has been expanded to include, though briefly, a study of Synonyms in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well, a step to extend it at some later stage to cover all the syonymous words in Sanskrit literature.

The Volume on Society and Culture contains a write-up, which had been in manuscript, on Human Values in as many as hundred and ten pages. A new approach has been adopted in this in that definitions of the terms for human values as traced from old Sanskrit literature have been given, the terms elucidated and explained with examples in detail.

The volume on Grammar and Linguistics has three studies on etymologies, *the very first of their kind*, which pertain to three voluminous works, one, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the other, the *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* and the third, the *Mahābhārata*. The first two are in English and the third in Sanskrit. The first, the "Etymologies in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* now forms part of the Linguistic Analysis of that work. It had earlier appeared in the *Oscar Botto Felicitation Volume*, Torino, Italy, 1992. The study on the etymologies in the *Devībhāgavata* was published in the *Purāṇa-Itihāsavimarśa* (S.G. Kantawala Felicitation Volume) Baroda, 1992 and the third on the *Mahābhārata*, *Mahābhārate Nirvacanāni* had appeared in the *Ṛtam* (K.A.S. Iyer Felicitation Volume), Lucknow, Vol. II, VI, July, 1970, Jan. 1975.

If one were to have a liking for the Navya-Nyāya style in Sanskrit, one can enjoy it in the highly abstruse and in-depth analysis of Dhātvartha, Samāsa and Sphoṭa in the volume on Grammar and Linguistics.

There is a good number of extensive studies in the volumes which are appearing for the first time. These include the study of human values as gleaned from old Sanskrit texts with an attempt

to trace their definitions from them, a description of 50-odd Hindu temples of Thailand, the delineation of the Hindu marriage ceremony, an in-depth status report on the modern Hindu society, an assessment of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* notable for fresh approach to its vocabulary, literary excellence and the psycho-analysis of its characters, the contribution of Śaunaka to Vedic interpretation, a survey of modern Sanskrit literature in all its varied forms of poetry, prose (novels and short stories), campūs and plays with a detailed appreciation of the new vocabulary surfacing in it, a study of the *pūjā* and the ritual in the Bali island of Indonesia and an account, informative and illuminating of the cultural excursions in countries of Southeast Asia. The volumes thus, apart from their utility in putting together most of my writings published so far, have also their utility in bringing to light my unpublished writings, as detailed above, in preparing which I have devoted the better part of my life.

There are at least six studies in the volumes which extend upto roughly a hundred pages each. This in effect means *that the volumes enclose six monographs in them.* Then there are other studies which cover a wide range of subjects.

All this research material I am placing in the hands of scholars.

There are a number of studies which do not fit into the theme of any of these volumes. they would form part of another volume which could be devoted to miscellaneous matter. Even with these seven volumes I still have enough material to offer to scholarly fraternity.

Though it may not go well with scientific arrangement, I have segregated the studies mediumwise. Since an overwhelming majority of my studies are in English, and in volume far exceed those in Sanskrit and Hindi, I have put them first. Sanskrit and Hindi studies follow them. It is only in a few cases they share the same theme with those in English. Since the arrangement followed in the volumes looks more elegant, I have gone in for it. I crave the indulgence of connoisseurs in this.

Before I close, I would like to reiterate the contribution of my young friend Dr. Pravin Pralayankar in my research studies assuming the shape of the present volumes. It was at his suggestion

that I had started the work. He had been very helpful to me all through. I bless him and pray that he progress and prosper in life.

While processing the volumes I encoutered many practical difficulties. I felt the need for a mature counsel to solve them. This I got from my old and beloved friend Dr. Satkari Mukhopadhyaya. Every time I was face to face with them, I contacted him over the phone and solicited his advice which he generously offered me. He is a veteran in the field with vast experience in the printing of Indological texts. His help, therefore, was of great value to me. He also acceeded to my request to go through the proofs of some sections of the volumes for which I owe him a deep debt of gratitude.

I also owe him gratitude in putting me into touch with Dr. Prakashchandra Chakrabarti, a young scholar, who read through the proofs of the volumes on Grammar and Linguistics and Classical Sanskrit Literature. He is very thorough and meticulous in his work. With his sound knowledge of English and thorough grasp of the system of Roman transliteration of Sanskrit words as also of the Sanskrit literature he can prove an asset to any institution.

Dr. Satya Vrata Tripathi of the National Museum read through the proofs of the volume on Philosophy and Religion and a few other write-ups. To him I owe a debt of gratitude.

Finally, I offer my hearty thanks to Yash Publications for undertaking the publication of the volumes and in seeing them through the Press expeditiously.

The vast research material that I have been able to put together here I dedicate to fellow scholars, they being my *Samāna-dharmans*.

October 25, 2005
New Delhi

**Satya Vrat Shastri**

# Contents

# 1

# Sanskrit Grammatical Literature: A Survey

The origin of Sanskrit grammar is shrouded in mystery. The first-ever mention of it by name is found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] in which various grammatical terms also occur. Earlier, the urge to analyse speech, which is the basis of all grammatical literature, was alluded to in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[2] One of its oft-quoted passage relates the myth of how the gods went to Indra and requested him to split up speech. Indra obliged them by parting it in the middle, thus splitting it up.

## Pāṇini : History & Tradition

The earliest extant systematic treatment of grammar is Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with its 3,995 *sūtras* (formulas), divided into eight *adhyāyas* (chapters) of four *pādas* (quarters) each. There were, however, grammarians before Pāṇini, for the great grammarian himself mentions by name many of his predecessors[3] and hints at the existence of many more.[4] Thus he testifies to considerable grammatical activity having taken place before him. This fact is also borne out by the various older technical terms he uses,[5] and also the discrepancies and the promiscuous use of some expressions in his work.[6] Pāṇini deals with both Sanskrit and Vedic grammar and mainly Vedic accent, though he deals more fully with Sanskrit grammar.

According to tradition, Pāṇini lived in the fifth century B.C., although critics like Keith would like to place him about 350 B.C.

He was a native of Śalātura, near Attock, now in Pakistan. Hiuen Tsang records that he saw a statue there to his memory. Pāṇini, as his name would suggest, was the son of Paṇina, although the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[7] would have us believe that his father's name was Sāmana. Pāṇini's mother, Dākṣī, was the sister of Vyāḍi who composed *Saṅgraha*, said to have contained a hundred thousand verses on Sanskrit grammar and more particularly, grammatical philosophy.[8] Tradition regards Pāṇini as the pupil of the sage Varṣa who was the brother of the sage Upavarṣa. A legend ascribes Pāṇini's death to an encounter with a lion.[9] Pāṇini lived after Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta* (a work on Vedic etymology), and according to some texts, was a contemporary of Mahāpadma Nanda in the fifth century B.C.[10] Highly scientific and precise in his treatment, which won him well-deserved praise,[11] Pāṇini was greatly concerned with the economy of words. To effect this economy he adopted many devices in which, in the words of Keith, 'the cases are used pregnantly, verbs are omitted, leading rules are understood to govern others which follow; above all algebraic formulae replace real words.' The whole scheme of his work covering the eight *adhyāyas*, as described by Keith, comprised the treatment of 'technical terms and rules of interpretation (i), nouns in composition and case relations (ii), the adding of suffixes to roots (iii) and to nouns (iv, v), accent and changes of sound in word formation (vi, vii) and the word in the sentence (viii). But this scheme is constantly interrupted, rules being interpolated illogically because it was convenient to do, or because space could thus be saved, for the whole book is dominated by the aim to be as brief as possible.'[12]

## Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and Bhartṛhari

Many grammarians followed Pāṇini during the next two centuries, but their works are no longer extant; we know of them because their names and quotations from their works are found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Some of those names are: Kātyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Sunāga, Vyāghrabhūti and Vaiyāghrapadya. All these grammarians wrote *vārttikas* (aphorisms) on Pāṇini's work.

Among them, Kātyāyana wrote *vārttikas* on 1,245 of Pāṇini's *sūtras* and these were incorporated and commented upon by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*.

Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of the Serpent Śeṣa, who is Viṣṇu's resting place. He may be said to belong to the second century B.C., a contention that is supported by the fact that he refers in his *Mahābhāṣya*[13] to the Mauryas, to Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty,[14] and to a Greek invader, identified as Menander.[15] In addition to his comments upon Kātyāyana's *vārttikas*, Patañjali deals with some of the *sūtras* in Pāṇini's work not taken up by Kātyāyana, explaining and justifying them and occasionally rejecting them.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is one of the most important treatises on Sanskrit grammar; it influenced later grammatical works to a very great extent. It is written in a pleasant and lively conversational style, while the proverbial expressions which occur in it and its references to matters of everyday life serve both to enliven the discussion and to provide valuable hints regarding the conditions of life and thought in Patañjali's time. According to a tradition recorded by Bhartṛhari[16] and by Kalhaṇa (twelfth century),[17] the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* at one time fell upon bad days; it was, however, later revived by scholars such as Candrācārya (fifth century A.D.). There are numerous *vṛttis* (commentaries) on this work, and a good number of them are still in manuscript form. One commentary is *Pradīpa*, written by the pre-thirteenth century Kashmirian scholar, Kaiyaṭa; the seventeenth century critic Nāgeśa wrote a commentary on *Pradīpa* which he called *Uddyota*. Bhartṛhari's commentary was called the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*. Helārāja, however, referred to it as *Tripādī*,[18] suggesting that it covered only the first three *pādas* of the first *adhyāya*. Its only available manuscript, now in Berlin, is but a fragment; it goes up to the fifty-third *sūtra* of the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*.

The three great grammarians we have so far referred to, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, are called collectively the *munitraya* (the three sages). After them came Bhartṛhari, although

his date is very uncertain. He is usually assigned a date between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and according to the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, he died about A.D. 615. Some scholars, however, place him in the fifth century between A.D. 450 and 500,[19] while others place him in the third century, or even earlier.[20]

Bhartṛhari is the author of two works, the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*, already mentioned, and the *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatico-philosophical work in three *kāṇḍas* (sections) called the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* (dealing with Supreme Logos), the *Vākya-kāṇḍa* (dealing with sentences), and the *Pada-kāṇḍa* (dealing with words), the last being styled the *Prakīrṇaka-kāṇḍa* (miscellaneous section). Since it consists of these three books, the *Vākyapadīya* also carries the alternative name of *Trikāṇḍī* (the three-sectioned book). Altogether it has 1,966 *kārikās* (comment in metrical form). Of these, 1,323 are found in the *Pada-kāṇḍa* divided into fourteen *samuddeśas* (chapters). A commentary on the first *kāṇḍa* was written by Bhartṛhari himself, while commentaries were written on the second and the third *kāṇḍa* by Puṇyarāja and Helārāja. An unidentified later commentator, probably of the North, condensed and simplifed Bhartṛhari's own commentary, while Vṛṣabhadeva, probably hailing from the South, wrote the *Paddhati* in which Bhartṛhari's commentary was explained at length.

## The Aṣṭādhyāyī: Commentaries and Arrangements

The first extant *vṛtti* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, the Banaras commentary, written jointly by Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are usually regarded as having lived in the seventh century. The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is presumed to be a Buddhist work on account of the complete absence in it of *maṅgala* (benedictory verse) and also because of the liberty with which it handles the text, for it shows as many as fifty-eight variations from the original. The writers are also credited with the authorship of an independent treatise, the *Vṛtti-sūtra*. Among other prominent commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the *Bhāga-vṛtti* by Bhartṛhari or Vimalamati, although this work is now no longer available.

There is also the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Puruṣottamadeva (sixteenth century A.D.) who drew inspiration from both the *Kāśikā* and the *Bhāga-vṛtti*. The *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, a work on some selected *sūtras* from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, was written by the Buddhist scholar, Śaraṇadeva; he mentions the date of his work as Śaka era[21] 1095, which is A.D. 1172. The name of this work is derived from the fact that it seeks to offer justification for *durghaṭas*, i.e. points which are normally difficult to justify by grammar. The last of the important commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the *Sūtra-prakāśa* by the well-known sixteenth century South Indian writer Appaya Dīkṣita.

The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* has two important commentaries. In the seventh century was written *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* by Jinendrabuddhi,[22] and in the eleventh century was written Haradatta's *Pada-mañjarī*.[23]

In about the eleventh century, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was given a new form by the Buddhist scholar, Dharmakīrti. He rearranged some of the useful *sūtras* topicwise. In about the fourteenth century[24] another Buddhist scholar, Vimalasarasvatī, did precisely the same thing in a work called *Rūpamālā*. About a century later, the Andhra scholar Rāmacandra, in his *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, followed the same pattern but extended the scope of his work by including some of the *sūtras* left out by his predecessors. Two commentaries were written on this work: the *Prakriyā-prakāśa* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (sixteenth century A.D.), the teacher of the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and the *Prasāda* by Viṭṭhala (sixteenth century A.D.). Next came the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (A.D. 1600-1650), which, in arrangement, closely followed *Prakriyā-kaumudī* and the earlier works, but differed from them in that it incorporated all of Pāṇini's *sūtras*. The *Sidhānta-Kaumudī* is the most popular extant manual on Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita himself wrote a commentary on this work, which he called *Prauḍha-manoramā* and his grandson Hari Dīkṣita wrote a commentary on it called *Śabda-ratna*. His principal aim in writing *Śabda-ratna* was to refute what he regarded as unfair criticism of the *Prauḍha-manoramā*, which occurred in the *Prauḍha-*

*manoramākucamardinī* by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, a contemporary of his father Bhānuji Dīkṣita.

Another commentary on the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* was written by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (eighteenth century A.D.), a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita. He wrote his commentary in two versions, the longer being called (*Bṛhat*) *Śabdendu-śekhara*, and the shorter one *Laghu-śabdendu-śekhara*. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa wrote another work in three versions, the *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣā*, short version the *Laghu-Mañjūṣā* and the still shorter version the *Parama-laghumañjūṣā*. This work was an independent treatise on grammatical philosophy and semantics in the Navya-nyāya style (neo-logical style of argumentation). The author based his discussion mainly on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, but not unoften he differed from them, showing remarkable originality. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa also wrote *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, a gloss on the *paribhāṣās* (grammatical dicta). This was in line with such treatises as the *Paribhāṣā-vṛtti* by Sīraeva.

A work by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita which deserves special mention is the *Śabdakaustubha*, although now it is available only in two fragments; one fragment comprises the first portion of the work, from the beginning to the end of the second *pāda* of the third *adhyāya*; the other fragment contains the fourth *adhyāya*. The *Śabda-kaustubha* is an independent commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is based primarily on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as the author himself expressly states[25] and as Haradatta Miśra also states in his *Pada-mañjarī*. The *Śabda-kaustubha* was written earlier than the *Sidhānta-kaumudī*, for it is referred to there, and it is in this work that the true greatness of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as an original thinker is revealed. He summarized the main conclusions of his work in seventy-four *kārikās*. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's nephew, embodied and expounded these seventy-four *kārikās* in his *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhuṣaṇa*; the shorter, *Vaiyākatraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*; and the still shorter, *Laghu-vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*. Like the later work, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's *Mañjūṣā*, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's work deals with grammatical philosophy and semantics. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa lived in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Varadarāja, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's pupil, evolved from *Siddhānta-kaumudī* two school manuals, *Madhya-kaumudī* and *Laghu-kaumudī*. These two manuals, especially the shorter one, *Laghu-kaumudī*, are very popular in *ṭols* (traditional Sanskrit schools) and *pāṭhaśālās* (primary schools) even to this day.

Among the works which are ancillary to Pāṇini's *sūtras* is the *Uṇādi-sūtra* which is presupposed by Pāṇini; it is ascribed to *Śākaṭāyana*. A later work, *Dhātu-pāṭha*, which is in substance that of Pāṇini, was the source of inspiration for three works: *Dhātu-pradīpa* by Maitreyarakṣita (A.D. 1165); *Daiva* by Deva on which Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni wrote a commentary, *Puruṣakāra*; and *Mādhavīyadhātu-vṛtti* by Sāyaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.). *Gaṇa-ratnamahodadhi* by Vardhamāna (1140) does not seem to be based on the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, for Pāṇini's work itself has not been handed down in its authentic form, since it has additions and alterations made in the light of the *Gaṇapāṭhas* of other grammatical treatises. A post-Patañjali writer, Śāntanava, composed the *Phiṭ-sūtras*, which dealt with the rules of Vedic and classical accent.

## Post-Pāṇinian Schools

**The Kātantra School:** The earliest of the post-Pāṇinian schools is the *Kātantra* (little treatise). It is also known by two other names, *Kaumāra* and *Kālāpaka* according to two traditions associated with its origin. The author of the *Kātantra*, Śarvavarman, is said to have propitiated Lord Śiva who in turn ordered Kumāra-Kārttikeya, his son, to give instruction to Śarvavarman, thus the work came to be called *Kaumāra*. Kumāra-Kārttrikeya is said to have inscribed it in the first instance on the tail (*kalāpa*) of his peacock and thus the work came to be called *Kālāpaka*, or because of the incorporation into it of some parts from a bigger treatise,[26] an obvious reference to brevity, for it is the shortest extant grammar. The *Kātantra* was composed by Śarvavarman in about the first century A.D.[27] for a Sātavāhana

king,[28] as a tradition recorded in an old text would have us believe.[29] A *vṛtti* on it was written by Durgasiṁha in the eighth century; and on the *vṛtti* a *nyāsa* (an elaborate commentary) called *Śiṣyahitā*, was written by Ugrabhūti in the eleventh century. A number of other commentaries on the *Kātantra* were also written. The *Kātantra* also appears in Tibetan translation with a supplement and Durgasiṁha's commentary. The *Kātantra* had a considerable influence on the Pali grammarian Kāccāyana and also on the Dravidian grammarians, and is still popular in Bengal.

**The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa School:** The *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* by the Buddhist scholar Candragomin (fifth century) is a work longer than *Kātantra* but shorter than the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, its length being three-fourths of the length of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It was once popular in the Buddhist countries of Kashmir, Tibet, and Nepal. According to internal evidence, it was composed in about A.D. 470, the reference in the text being to the victory of a Jarta king over the Hūṇas. 'Jarta' is taken to be a corruption for 'Gupta', and the king was, most probably, Skandagupta. From external evidence, however, its date of composition seems to be A.D. 600, the date mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Candragomin, who is also called Candrācārya, mentions in the beginning of his own *vṛtti* on *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* and that the special characteristics of his grammar are brevity, lucidity, and comprehensiveness. He was also versed in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and was linked with the revival of its study, as Bhartṛhari and Kalhaṇa (12th cen.) testify.

**The Jainendra Vyākaraṇa School:** Although the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is considered to be the work of Jina Mahāvīra himself, it was actually composed by Pūjyapāda Devanandin (sixth century). The colophons in the manuscript itself testify to this. It is a sort of condensation of the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali; it has a recast, meant for beginners, called *Pañca-vastu*. Two recensions of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* are extant, the northern and the southern. There is wide divergence between the two texts, for the northern recension has about three thousand *sūtras* while the southern has three thousand seven hundred. There

are also many variations in expression in the *sūtras*. There are two *vṛttis* on the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*: the *Mahāvṛtti* by Abhayanandin and the *Laghu-jainendra* by Mahācandra. There is also a *nyāsa*, the *Śabdāmbhoja-bhāskara*, by Prabhācandra (A.D. 1075-1125).

**The Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa School:** The *Śabdānuśāna* by Pālyakīrti (ninth century) now goes by the name of *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*. It was composed during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-77). The evidence for this is furnished by the fact that he gave the name *Amoghā* to the extensive commentary he wrote on his own work, and also by the actual mention of the name of the king in one of the illustrations.[30] Prabhācandra wrote a *Nyāsa* on the *Amoghā-vṛtti*. Yakṣavarman wrote a commentary, *Cintāmaṇi* on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*, in which he alluded to its all-comprehensive nature; the *sūtras*, he said, included what in other grammars would be conveyed by *iṣṭis* (grammatical principles) or by *upasaṁkhyānas* (additional grammatical rules).

**The Siddha-Hemancandra School:** The *Siddha-Hemacandra*, or simply the *Haima Vyākaraṇa*, was based on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa* and was written by Hemacandra Sūri for King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. The king procured from Kashmir eight older works for Hemacandra Sūri's use. The *Haima Vyākaraṇa* is a grammar of Prakrit as well as of Sanskrit; its 3,566 *sūtras*, constituting the first seven *adhyāyas*, deal with Prakrit grammar. The work is a good manual, practical in arrangement and terminology—an aspect in which it agrees mainly with the *Kātantra*. It omits Vedic grammar and accent. Hemacandra Sūri wrote his work in two versions called *Laghvī*, the shorter, and *Bṛhatī*, the longer. He also wrote a *vṛtti* on his work, and an extensive treatise called the *Bṛhannyāsa*.

**The Saravatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa School:** The most extensive of the grammars is the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* written by the Paramāra King Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.). The total number of *sūtraṣ* in it is 6,421, which is 2,426 more than even the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has. This is because, included in the very *sūtras* are

the *uṇādis* (the siffix *uṇ* etc.), the *paribhāṣās*, and the *gaṇas* (groups of words). The first seven *adhyāyas* of the work are devoted to Sanskrit grammar, while the eighth deals with Vedic grammar and accent. Three commentaries have been written on the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa: Hṛdaya-hāriṇī* by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; *Puruṣakāra* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni; and *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Rāmasiṁhadeva.

## Other works

Grammars continued to be written in later centuries too, but they could at best find only local acceptance. Of these, the following four are of some importance:

**The Saṁkṣiptasāra:** Kramadīśvara wrote the *Saṁkṣipta-sāra* after 1150. In its first seven *adhyāyas* it deals with Sanskrit grammar, and in the eighth with Prakrit grammar. This work is also known as the *Jaumāra* after its redactor Jumaranandin. In the colophons of many of the manuscripts Jumaranandin is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. Goyīcandra Autthāsanika, a later writer, appended supplements to the grammar and wrote commentaries on its *sūtras*, *uṇādis*, and the *paribhāṣās*. The *Saṁkṣipta-sāra*, however, was popular only in the western part of Bengal.

**The Mugdhabodha:** Among the works written by Vopadeva (thirteenth century), who flourished under King Mahādeva of Devagiri, was the *Mughabodha*, a small manual on grammar. Many commentaries have been written on it, the best known among them being the one by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa (seventeenth century A.D.). The *Mugdhabodha* attained great popularity in Bengal, and it is still in use there. Two other works by Vopadeva are the *Kavi-kalpadruma*, a work on roots, and a commentary on this called *Kāmadhenu*.

**The Supadma Vyākaraṇa:** Written in 1375 by Padmanābha (fourteenth century A.D.), the *Supadma Vyākaraṇa* was popular in the eastern part of Bengal. Five commentaries have been written on it, including the *Pañjikā* by the author himself and the *Supadma-makaranda* by Viṣṇu Miśra.

**The Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa:** This grammar is traditionally ascribed to Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, although it might actually have

been composed by Narendrācārya, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya being merely a *prakriyākāra*. As Vopadeva does not mention this work, it was probably written after him but before the Mohammedan ruler Ghiasuddhin Khilji (A.D. 1469-1500), since one of his ministers, Puṇyarāja, wrote an extensive commentary on it called *Prakriyā*. This grammar has been widely commented upon; in fact, it has as many as eighteen commentaries and two recasts.

**The Liṅgānuśāsanas**: Of some grammatical importance are the treatises on gender known as the *Liṅgānuśāsanas*. Some of them are ascribed to Pāṇini, Vararuci, Śākaṭāyana, and Hemacandra (twelfth century). There are two about whose date and authorship there is no dispute. These are by Harṣadeva (A.D. 606-47) and by Vāmana ( A.D. 800).

## REFERENCES


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3. Pāṇini's reference to earlier *ācāryas* in IV. 1.17; IV.1.157; VII. etc.
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5. Shastri, M. D. 'The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors', *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, 4th Session, Vol. II, 1928, pp. 465-74.
6. Pawate, I. S. *The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Chapters VIII and IX, pp. 93, 109.
7. II. 31.2.
8. Bhartṛhari, *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, MS., p.30; Puṇyarāja, *Vākyapadīyaṭīkā*, Benares Sanskrit Series, Benares, p. 383; Nāgeśa. *Mahābhāṣya Pradīpoddyota*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1917, Vol. p. 55.
9. Vide: *siṁho vyākaraṇasya kartur aharat prāṇān priyān pāṇineḥ*, *Pañcatantra*, II. 36.
10. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 427; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 4.

11. Cf. *itipāṇini. tatpāṇini. Pāṇiniśabdo loke prakāśate...* and ... *ākumāraṁ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ.—Kāśikā* under the *sūtras* II. 1.6, 13.
12. Keith, A. B. HSL, pp. 423-24.
13. V. 3. 69
14. III. 1.26
15. III.2.3
16. *Vākyapadīya*, II. 4.89.
17. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 176.
18. Being published serially in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
19. The *Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari*, University of Poona Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. II. 1965, Introduction, p. xiii.
20. Sadhu Ram, 'The Date of Bhartṛari', *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allababad, Vol. IX, Part II, 1952.
21. An era founded by a Śaka king Śālivāhana approximately A.D. 78.
22. Shrish Chandra Chakravarti assigns *Nyāsa* to A.D. 725-50. See Introduction to his edition of the *Nyāsa*, Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi, 1913, p. 26.
23. ibid., Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka places Haradatta Miśra in A.D. 1058, vide *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa,* Second edition, Saṁvat 2020, p.473. On the authority of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa,* Jacobi believes that Haradatta died by about A.D. 878, *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31.
24. K. P. Trivedi takes Dharmakīrti and Vimalasarasvatī to be contemporaries. According to him the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Rūpamālā* were composed about the same time; *vide* Introduction to his edition of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXIII, 1925, p. xxxiii.
25. *phaṇibhāṣitabhāṣyābdheḥ śabdakaustubham uddhare,* verse 3.
26. Vide Hemacandra: *Bṛhattantrāt kalā āpibati*, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka, *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa*, Second edition, Saṁvat 2020, p. 502.
27. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. III, Part II, p. 439.
28. The king was not well versed in Sanskrit. To instruct him within six months, Śavarvarman composed *Kātantra* grammar.
29. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 6-7.
30. *adahad amoghavarṣo'rātin.*

2

# Jinendrabuddhi's Contribution to Sanskrit Grammar

The growth of the Sanskrit literature owes not a little to the efforts of the Buddhists. Sanskrit grammar is no exception. We can easily identify here three prominent Buddhists: (i) Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the well-known gloss on the *Kāśikā*, the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* or more popularly the *Nyāsa*, (ii) Śaraṇadeva, the author of the explanatory comment on the difficult (*durghaṭa*) *sūtras* of Pāṇini, the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, and (iii) Puruṣottamadeva, the author of the commentary on only the *laukika sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*. Of all these three it is Jinendrabuddhi whose contribution to Sanskrit grammar stands at the highest. His *magnum opus*, the *Nyāsa* has won him well deserved laurels. It has been frequently and profusely quoted in subsequent grammatical literature. The celebrated poet Māgha has hallowed its memory by a reference to it in his *Mahākāvya*:

> *anutsūtrapadanyāsā sadvṛttiḥ sannibandhanā।*
> *śabdavidyeva no bhāti rājanītir apaspaśā॥*[1]

Even the other commentator of the *Kāśikā*, Haradatta Miśra, whose own contribution to Sanskrit grammar is not negligible and who has written a more voluminous gloss on the *Kāśikā* than the *Pañjikā*, relies heavily on his predecessor (Jinendrabuddhi), paragraphs after paragraphs from which work can easily be identified to have been taken and woven into his text by him with minor verbal changes here and there. Such being the place of Jinendrabuddhi in Sanskrit grammatical literature it would be

worth while to discuss his contribution to Sanskrit grammatical studies.

For one thing, the *Nyāsa* does not happily confine itself to the explanation of the cryptic *Kāśikā*. It goes further. It explains the *sūtras* and discusses points debated in the *Mahābhāṣya* adding at places whatever is left out there. Occasionally it raises points which have not even been raised in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has instances such as these which mark out the Nyāsakāra from an ordinary commentator of the *Kāśikā* to an independent thinker on Sanskrit grammar. The present paper is an attempt to pinpoint a couple of these instances.

Under the *sūtra: tad adhīte tad veda* (4.2.59) the Nyāsakāra raises an interesting discussion with regard to the repetition of *tad* in the *sūtra*. The Kāśikākāra had pointed out that the purpose of this repetition was to enjoin the *taddhita* suffix in either of the two senses of 'to learn' and 'to know'. The Nyāsakāra points out that this cannot stand. Just as in the *sūtra: tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam* (4.4.2) it is the interpretation that the one *tena* should be connected with all the four senses simultaneoulsy, similarly in the present instance too it is necessary that *tad* be connected with the two senses simultaneouly which means that a word in the *Accusative* will come to have the *taddhita* suffix in each of the senses of 'one who learns' and 'one who knows'. The Nyāsakāra's explanation here is that the *tad* has been repeated for the sake of the following *sūtras: kratūkthādibhyaş ṭhak* (4.2.60) and *vasantādibhyaş ṭhak* (4.2.63) where *kratu* and *vasanta* signifying action and season respectively would have no connection with learning and would, therefore, have to be understood to be in the sense of learning a text connected with them (*tatsahacarite granthe syāt*). The idea of learning in such cases would be secondary. Now according to the maxim: out of the primary and the secondary the rule would apply only in the primary: *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasampratyayaḥ* the *taddhita suffix* enjoined by the above *sūtra* would apply in the primary sense of 'one who knows' only and not in the secondary one of 'one who learns'. The repetition of *tad* in the present *sūtra*

(which otherwise, as shown above, is redundant) would enjoin the *taddhita* suffix *ṭhak* in the sense of 'one who learns' too. That can well be the explanation for the repetition of *tad* in the *sūtra*.

Under the *sūtra*: *śi sarvanāmasthānam* (1.1.42) Jinendrabuddhi gives us the interesting information that the big term *sarvanāmasthāna* had been in use among the earlier grammarians without any justification for its length. Pāṇini has adopted it in his grammar just to show the defectiveness of the earlier grammars and to avoid the charge on his grammar of being just a duplication of earlier grammars. It is only by pointing out the defects in earlier grammars that the writing of a new grammar can be justified.

Under the *sūtra*: *mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ* (1.1.47) Jinendrabuddhi raises the point that *antyāt* in the *sūtra* remains unqualified which would mean that a *mit* can come after any thing in the end. There is no second *ac* in the *sūtra* which may qualify it. To this his reply is that it is a usual practice to understand the second thing to be of the same variety when it is distinguished from the first. When it is said that among the cows the dark one yields better milk the idea is clear that the dark one too is a cow, neither a goat nor a man. Similarly, in the present instance when it is said that among the vowels the *mit* would come after the last one the implication is clear: the *mit* would come after the last vowel only.

Under this very *sūtra* Jinendrabuddhi gives us a technical term in use among the older grammarians, *anuṣaṅga* for penultimate *n: nakārasyopadhāyā anuṣaṅga iti pūrvācāryaiḥ saṁjñā kṛta*. The references to older terms such as the present one have obviously their own value for tracing the history and evolution of Sanskrit grammatical terminology.

Under the *sūtra*: *aco'ntyādi ṭi* (1.1.64) Jinendrabuddhi raises the point that the very compound *antyādi* is indefensible for there is no *sāmarthya* in it as the one component of it, *antya*, is connected in sense with *acaḥ* outside the compound. To this Jinendrabuddhi's reply is that *antya* being a word indicative of relationship (*sambandhiśabda*) can well be compounded with

another word though it may be connected in sense with a word outside the compound. The practice with regard to the words of relationship is that they, requiring invariably as they do, another word for the completion of their sense (*nitya-sāpekṣa*) can well be compounded with another word; they even imply the idea of the word outside the compound: *sambandhiśabdānāṁ nityasāpekṣatvena gamakatvāt sāpekṣatve'pi samāso bhavati.*

Under the *sūtra*: *tasmād ity uttarasya* (1.1.67) Jinendrabuddhi raises a point: Why should *iti* in the *sūtra* have been used when we could easily have its *anuvṛtti* from the preceding one (*tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*) (1.1.66). To this the reply is that *iti* in this *sūtra* has the sense of 'in this way'. It is used for the purpose of indicating that just as *iti* has its *anuvṛtti* into this *sūtra* in the same way *nirdiṣṭa* too has its *anuvṛtti* here. There is yet another explanation for it too (*anyas tv āha*) which, however, is not acceptable to Jinendrabuddhi. The explanation is: The word *iti* is for the purpose of avoiding the dependence of the delimited (*avadhimat*) on the limit (*avadhi*) from which would follow the meaning that the process would take place to the one which immediately follows the limit which in the present instance is the word in the Ablative case as mentioned in the *sūtra* and not to the one which may follow that word. This indication according to this contention is necessary for in the absence of it the delimited (*avadhimat*) would remain unspecified: the sense of *sūtra* being that one which follows one word in the Ablative in the *sūtra*, not necessarily follows immediately, just follows, it may even come after the word which follows. With the dependence of the delimited (*avadhimattantratā*) on the limit (*avadhi*) such a possibility would be obviated. And it is precisely for obviating such a possibility that we have it in this *sūtra*. This view, as said earlier, is not acceptable to the Nyāsakāra. According to him the popular connection (*lokataḥ*) would correlate the limit and the delimited. In the popular expression *tasmāc chrotriyād uttaro bhojyatām:* it is a pupil immediately following (*avadhimat*) a particular one (*avadhi*) who is served meals and not the one following him. Hence there is little justification of the use of *iti*

in the *sūtra*. Nor does the Nyāsakāra subscribe to the view that *iti* is in this *sūtra* for the purpose of avoiding *tasmāt* to be taken as such (*svarūpakathananirāsārthaḥ*) for he says there is no such case where *tasmāt* occurs in the *sūtra* and *kārya* is required to be enjoined to *uttara*, the following one (*svarūpābhāvāt*). Even in *tasmāc chaso naḥ puṁsi* (6.1.103) where *tasmāt* actually occurs (*svarūpataḥ prayujyate*) there is no possibility of *śas* even occurring before *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*. Hence no justification for *iti* for *svarūpagrahaṇanirāsa*. It has justification, as said earlier, if it means in this way and indicates the carrying forward (*anuvṛtti*) of *nirdiṣṭe* from the preceding *sūtra* in the same way as there is the carrying forward (*anuvṛtti*) of *iti* from it.

3

## Sanskrit Usage

Śaṅkarācārya commenting on the first verse of the *Īśopaniṣad*:

> *iśāvāsyam idam sarvaṁ yat kiñca jagatyāṁ jagat ।*
> *tena tyaktena bhuñjīthā mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam ॥*

offers two alternative interpretations of the fourth quadrant: *mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam*. He says:

> *mā gṛdhaḥ gṛdhim, ākāṅkṣāṁ, mā kārṣīr dhanaviṣayām kasyasvid dhanaṁ kasyacit parasya svasya vā dhanaṁ mā kāṅkṣīr. ity arthaḥ। svid ity anarthako nipātaḥ। athavā mā gṛdhaḥ। kasmāt। kasyasvid dhanam ity ākṣepārtho, na kasyacid dhanam asti yad gṛdhyeta।*

Obviously the Ācārya regards the √*gṛdh* as transitive for he says in the first instance *kasyasvid dhanaṁ kasyacit parasya svasya vā dhanaṁ mā kāṅkṣīḥ*. Here he looks upon this quadrant as one single sentence. In the second instance he splits it up into two clauses: *mā gṛdhaḥ, dhanaṁ kasyasvit*. Even then he persists in viewing the root as transitive for he remarks: *na kasyacid dhanam asti yad gṛdhyeta*. The verse under reference is alluded to in the *Mahābhārata*:

> *kasyedam iti kasya svam iti vedavacas tathā*[1].

Evidently the Mahābhāratakāra splits the Upaniṣadic sentence in the same way as Śaṅkarācārya does. But this splitting by itself would clearly point to the intransitive nature of the root, precluding *dhanam* from standing as an object to *gṛdhaḥ*. It is the Ācārya's obsession with the transitive nature of the root that

leads him to supply *yad gṛdhyeta* even in the second interpretation. Against this view of Śaṅkarācārya we have a mass of evidence which goes to show that √*gṛdh* is almost invariably used intransitively. The impression that √*gṛdh* is transitive has probably originated from the meaning assigned to it in the Pāṇinīya *Dhātupāṭha* which reads: *gṛdhu abhikāṅkṣāyām*. As it stands it would mean that the senses of √*gṛdh* is ' to covet' for *gṛdhyati* would be paraphrased by *abhikāṅkṣati* which would require normally an object. That the root is intransitive is further evidenced by the use of √*lubh* as intransitive. The *Dhātupāṭha* gives the meaning of √*lubh* as *gārdhya*, covetousness. the nature of this root is not at all in dispute. Unfortunately we have very little use of this root as a finite verb (in *tiṅanta* form) though we have ample use of it in the verbal derivative forms such as *gṛdhi, gardha, gardhana, gṛdhnu* etc. in classical Sanskrit literature. The Vedas and the epics abound with the use of the root as a finite verb. The following few illustrations would suffice to prove the point:

i. *yasyāgṛdhad vedane vājy akṣaḥ।*[2]
ii. *nirāmiṇo ripavo 'nneṣu jāgṛdhuḥ।*[3]
iii. *mā gṛdho no ajāviṣu।*[4]
iv. *durnāmā tatra mā gṛdhat।*[5]
v. *te patnīṣv eva gandharvā gardhiṣyanti।*[6]
vi. *yadā gṛdhyet parabhūtau nṛśaṁsaḥ।*[7]
vii. *paravitteṣu gṛdhyataḥ।*[8]
viii. *eṣa dharmaḥ paramo yat svakena rājā tuṣyen na parasveṣu gṛdhyet।*[9]
ix. *anityaṁ yauvanaṁ rūpaṁ jīvitaṁ ratnasañcayaḥ।*
*aiśvaryaṁ priyasaṁvāso gṛdhyet tatra na paṇḍitaḥ॥*[10]
x. *anyonyam abhigarjanto goṣu gṛddhāḥ।*[11]
xi. *grahaṇe dharmarājasya bhāradvājo'pi gṛdhyati।*[12]
xii. *gṛdhyed eṣu na paṇḍitaḥ।*[13]
xiii. *snātānuliptagātre'pi yasmin gṛdhyanti makṣikāḥ।*[14]

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* takes √*tṛp* of the IV conjugation to be transitive as well, leaning on Bhaṭṭi's use of it as a transitive verb: *pitṝn atārpsīt*. The Sanskrit usage, however, negates it positively. Not only is this root of the IV

conjugation invariably intransitive, but also the root of the V conjugation is likewise as can be seen from the following examples:

i. *anukāmaṁ tarpayethām indrāvaruṇa rāya ā।* [15]
ii. *indra somasya varuṇasya tṛpṇuhi।* [16]
iii. *hiraṇyavarṇā atṛpaṁ yadāvaḥ।*[17]
iv. *tṛpyantu hotrā madhvaḥ।*[18]
v. *vāg devī juṣāṇā somasya tṛpyatu।*[19]
vi. *na hi tṛptā'smi kāmānāṁ jyeṣṭhā mām anuman-yatām।*[20]
vii. *aharahar nayamāno gām aśvaṁ puruṣaṁ paśum।*
*vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī ॥*[21]
viii. *cirasya dṛṣṭvā dāśārha rājānaḥ sarva eva tau ।*
*amṛtasyeva nātṛpyan prekṣamāṇā janārdanam ॥*[22]
ix. *atṛptiś cānnasya।* [23]
x. *nāyuñjāno bhakṣyabhojyasya tṛpyet।* [24]
xi. *kāmānām avitṛptas tvaṁ sṛñjayeha mariṣyasi।* [25]
xii. *gavyasya tṛptā māṁsasya।*[26]
xiii. *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānāṁ nāpagānāṁ mahodadhiḥ।* [27]
xiv. *avitṛptaḥ sugandhasya samantād vyacarad vanam।* [28]
xv. *atṛpto'smy adya kāmānām।*[29]
xvi. *madbāṇānāṁ tu vegena hatānāṁ tu raṇājire।*
*adya tṛpyantu māṁsādāḥ...*[30]
xvii. *apāṁ hi tṛptāya na vāridhārā svāduḥ*
*sugandhiḥ svadate tuṣārā।*[31]
xviii. *athavā śreyasi kena tṛpyate।*[32]

Grammar lays down the rule that the object takes the Genitive when in construction with a verbal derivative.[33] In contravention of this, the usage sanctions only the Accusative. And this has the tacit approval of Pāṇini himself for he uses the Accusative in construction with *arham*, a verbal derivative, in the *sūtra*: *tadarham*,[34] e.g.,

i. *na parityāgam arheyaṁ matsakāśād arindama।*[35]
ii. *pṛthivīrājyam arho'yaṁ nāṅgarājyaṁ nareśvaraḥ।*[36]
iii. *tasmāt pravāraṇaṁ pūrvam arhaḥ pārtho dhanañjayaḥ।*[37]
iv. *arhas tvam asi dharmajña rājasūyaṁ mahākratum ।*[38]
v. *tadā visargam arhāḥ syur itīdaṁ dhātṛśāsanam ।*[39]
vi. *naivārhaḥ paitṛkaṁ riktham ।*[40]

According to the *Dhātupāṭha* √*vad* (with or without *sam*) is Parasmaipadin but according to usage with *sam* it is invariably Ātmanepadin. The Bhāṣyakāra is merely upholding the usage when he employs the Ātmanepada termination in the expression: *vācikaṣaḍikau na saṁvadete.*[41] We have in the *Ṛgveda* as also in the *Nirukta* the Ātmanepada use of *sam* + *vad*: *uta svayā saṁvade tat,*[42] *indra tvaṁ marudbhiḥ saṁvadasva.*[43] *devaśuṇ nīndreṇa prahitā paṇibhir asuraiḥ samūda ity ākhyānam*[44] The *Bṛhaddevatā* also reads: *sūkte preti tu nadyaś ca viśvāmitraḥ samūdire.*[45] The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* too has it in *atha hāgnayaḥ samūdire tapto brahmacārī kuśalaṁ naḥ paryacārīt.*[46] So do have *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*[47] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[48]:

i. *mṛṣā kila vai māṁ saṁvadiṣṭhā brahma te bravāṇīti।*
ii. *sa hovācājātaśatrur mā maitasmin saṁvadiṣṭhā iti।*

Elsewhere also we come across, not infrequently, this use of the Ātmanepada. Thus:

i. *kumāraṁ jātaṁ saṁvadanta upa vai śuśrūṣate।* [49]
ii. *devā vai brahma samavadanta।*[50]
iii. *sa vai na sarveṇeva saṁvadeta। ...na vai devā sarveṇeva saṁvadante।*[51]

As required by grammar *anurakta* and *anuvrata* should have either the Locative or the Genitive of the person or the thing to whom or to which one is devoted. And we have this use. But the Accusative preponderates, though it has no explicit grammatical sanction, for example:

i. *sātyakiḥ kṛtavarmā ca nārāyaṇam anuvratau।* [52]
ii. *rājāno rājaputrāś ca dhṛtarāṣṭram anuvratāḥ।*[53]
iii. *abhyagacchad adīnātmā damayantīm anuvrataḥ।* [54]
iv. *ānvīkṣikīṁ tarkavidyām anurakto nirarthikām।* [55]
v. *alabhyam anuraktavān kim ayam ātmanārījanam।* [56]
vi. *api vṛṣalam anuraktāḥ prakṛtayaḥ?*[57]
vii. *mahodadhim ivākṣobhyam ahaṁ rāmam anuvratā।*[58]
viii. *rājyāc cyutam asiddhārthaṁ rāmaṁ parimitāyuṣam। kair guṇair anuraktāsi।*[59]

The Kāśikākāra specifically limits the use of *rajasvalā* and *kārmuka* in the sense of 'a lady in menses' and 'a bow'

respectively. In the *sūtra tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*[60] he says that *iti* is valid in all the following *sūtras* ordaining the possessive suffixes. And this *iti* limits the option of the speaker. Thus to convey the sense *rajo'smin grāme vidyate* we cannot say *rajasvalo grāmaḥ*. Now this is contradicted by usage:

i. *sarve vidhvastakavacās tāvakā yudhi nirjitāḥ ।*
*rajasvalā bhṛśodvignā vīkṣamāṇā diśo daśa ॥*[61]

ii. *gadayā bhīmasenena bhinnakumbhān rajasvalān ।*
*dhāvamānān apaśyāma kuñjarān parvatopamān ॥*[62]

iii. *paṅkadigdhān rajasvalān ।*[63]

iv. *rajasvalam anityaṁ ca bhūtāvāsam imaṁ tyajet ॥*[64]

In the case of *kārmuka* the Kāśikākāra says under Pāṇ. *karmaṇa ukañ*[65] *kārmukaṁ dhanuḥ। dhanuṣo 'nyatra na bhavati anabhidhānāt*. This is not supported by usage. We have the use of *kārmuka* in the sense of 'effective' in the *Caraka Saṁhitā*:

i. *na tu kevalaṁ guṇaprabhāvād eva kārmukāṇi bhavanti (dravyāṇi) ।*[66]

ii. *bahuśo gulikāḥ kāryāḥ kārmukās syus tato 'dhikam ।*[67]

## II

## Pāṇini's Regard for it

In his *sūtra* '*avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu*'[68] 'Pāṇini reads *varyā* and says that though not regularly derived, it has to be accepted as correct, provided it is used in the feminine, in the sense 'to be freely chosen'. Normally the form in this sense would be *vārya* derived from √*vṛñ* with *ṇyat*. He restricts the use of *varya* to the feminine, for such is the usage. But Bhaṭṭi for whom usage is not very important (for he draws for his forms more upon his imagination than upon the standard literature) has no hesitation in using *varya* in the masculine *Sugrīvo nāma varyo 'sau*.

Again in framing the *sūtra padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu ca*[69]' Pāṇini uses *bāhya* (outer) in the feminine, implying that the form *gṛhya* evolved from √*grah* with the suffix *kyap* has to be restricted

to the feminine, for such is the usage. This limits our option. We can say *nagaragṛhyā senā* but not *nagaragṛhyaṁ sainyam*. As a grammarian, the Ācārya would have stopped at evolving the correct form *gṛhya* without defining its precise use, *padaṁ vyākaraṇaṁ smṛtam*, Vyākaraṇa is analysis of word forms.

Pāṇini lays down certain rules for the evolution of certain forms. He analyses them and sets his seal of approval on them, and then proceeds to recognise certain other forms not directly covered by his rules, because they are in vogue amongst the cultured *(śiṣṭas)*. He asks his students to look for such forms in literature, viz., in the speech of the *śiṣṭas* and take them as approved by grammar, for they have the sanction of usage. While urging his students to do so, he uses expressions like *anyeṣv api dṛśyate*, *anyebho 'pi dṛśyate* or *bahulam* or *prāyaḥ*, etc.

By his *sūtras* '*saptamyāṁ janer ḍaḥ*[70]', '*pañcamyām ajātau*[71]', '*upasarge ca saṁjñāyām*[72]', '*anau ca karmaṇi*.[73]' Pāṇini prescribes the use of the suffix *ḍa* after √*jan* and sets down forms like *mandurajaḥ, buddhijaḥ, prajāḥ, pumanujaḥ* as the appropriately evolved usable forms, but he is conscious that these rules of his leave a large majority of forms apparently with *ḍa* uncovered. He acknowledges the existence of such forms in his *sūtra* '*anyeṣv api dṛśyate*'[74] and asks his students to pick up such forms in literature and accept them as grammatically correct. Thus forms like *ajaḥ* (*na jāyata iti*), *dvijaḥ* (*dvir jāta iti*), *brāhmaṇajaḥ* (*dharmaḥ*), *abhijāḥ* (*keśāḥ*) are all correct, though there is no explicit sanction in grammar, for they are sanctioned by usage. Not only that, usage goes far beyond. By the use of *api* in the *sūtra*, Pāṇini suggests that *ḍa* may come after any other root than *jan* even in a sense other than that of agency, just as in *parikhā* (*parikhāyate parikhanyata iti*). Here we have *ḍa* in the sense of the Accusative.

In the *sūtras* '*bhrājabhāsadhūrvidyutorjipṛgrāvastuvaḥ kvip*'[75] Pāṇini mentions several roots such as *bhrāj, bhās* as taking *kvip* a Tācchīlika suffix (signifying habitual action, etc.). Immediately after he reads *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyate*. Why does he use *dṛśyate*? The Vṛttikāra answers: *dṛśigrahaṇaṁ vidhyantaro-*

*pasaṅgrahārtham, kvacid dīrghaḥ, kvacid dvirvacanam, kvacid asamprasāraṇam. tathā cāhakvibvacipracchyāyatastukaṭa-prūjuśrīṇāṁ dīrgho 'samprasāraṇaṁ ca, dṛśyate* is there to ensure forms got from other roots and to include other unnamed grammatical operations involved in the process of the evolution of the usable forms from the roots. Thus there is nothing wrong with the forms evolved from these roots, if some of them have lengthening, or the *samprasāraṇa*, or the absence of it, or reduplication as in *āyatastu, vidyut, kaṭaprūḥ, vāk, śabdaprāṭ, jūḥ* not permissible in grammar.

Pāṇini reads '*itarābhyo 'pi dṛśyante*[76].' He observes that the *svārthika* suffixes *tasil, tral* etc. go beyond their proper sphere and are found used even after bases ending in other case-endings than the fifth or the seventh. It is to be noted that *tasil* and *tral* come after *kim, sarvanāma* and *bahu*. While *sa bhavān* is perfectly normal *tato bhavān, tatra bhavān* are quite abnormal. Similarly while *tam bhavantam* is quite reasonable, *tato bhavantam, tatra bhavantam* has no justification. To a student of grammar who has not yet had access to literature, these expressions sound strange. But usage is all powerful and has to be accepted.

In the *sūtras* '*pañcamyās tasil*[77]' and '*saptamyās tral*[78]' Pāṇini lays down that bases such as *sarvanāma, kim* and *bahu* take *tasil* after their *pañcamyanta* forms and *tral* after their *saptamyanta* forms without any additional sense. By his *sūtra itarābhyo 'pi dṛśyante*[79] he extends their use to bases with other case-endings. Thus along with *tato bhavataḥ, tatra bhavati* we can, if we like, say *tato bhavān, tatra bhavān, tato bhavantam, tato bhavatā, tatra bhavatā* so on and so forth. On the face of it, this use of *tataḥ* and *tatra* seems to be ill-adjusted and entirely unjustifiable. Yet Pāṇini does not discard this.

Under *bahulam* used a number of times in his *sūtras* Pāṇini covers such forms where there is scope for his rule and yet they do not apply or apply optionally, while his rules would be otherwise obligatory or admit of certain changes or modification which his rules do not ordain. Nowhere does he reject such forms

as ungrammatical. We illustrate: *rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ, arjunaḥ kārtavīryaḥ* have no compounding, though the two make a fit case for one. This is because Pāṇini uses *bahulam* in his *sūtra* '*viśeṣaṇaṁ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*[80].' Usage restrains our option. In *kṛṣṇasarpaḥ* and *lohitaśāliḥ* we have compounds which are *nitya*, not analysable into their components.

Pāṇini prescribes the *kṛtya* suffixes in the sense of *bhāva* and *karma,* predominantly in the sense of *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa*. But he extends their use to senses even specified to be observed in actual use in literature. This he does by his *sūtra* '*kṛtyaluṭo bahulam*[81].' This lends grammatical sanction to multitude of forms in *kṛtya* and *lyuṭ*.

In '*rogākhyāyāṁ ṇvul bahulam*[82]' Pāṇini tells us that names of diseases are formed by the addition of *ṇvul*. He does not specify the base or bases for this suffix. Here too usage is the only guide. Hence, he reads *bahulam* in the *sūtra*. Thus while we have formations in *ṇvul* like *pracchardikā* (vomitting), *pravāhikā* (dysentery), *vicarcikā* (itching), we have *śiror 'rti* (headache) in *kvin*.

What Pāṇini achieves by the use of *bahulam* he achieves by the use of *prāyeṇa* also. In his *sūtra* '*puṁsi saṁjñāyāṁ ghaḥ prāyeṇa*[83]' he observes that in the speech of the *śiṣṭas* there are forms with *gha* in the sense of *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* signifying a noun in the masculine. Here too he does not specify the bases. They are to be picked up by an extensive study of literature. Thus we have *ghaṭaḥ, jayaḥ (aśvaḥ), smaraḥ (kāmaḥ), tvacaḥ* along with the more common *dantacchadaḥ, ākaraḥ, ālayaḥ*.

In another place Pāṇini reads '*śeṣe*[84]' which is both an Adhikāra-sūtra and a Vidhi-sūtra. This is how it is understood and interpreted by the commentators. As a Vidhi-sūtra it lays down that wherever in the speech of the cultured formations with *āṇ* are seen in senses other than *apatyādi* noticed in the foregoing *sūtras* and *jātādi* in the *sūtras* subsequent to it, they are to be deemed correct, although there are no pertinent grammatical injunctions. By a single stroke of the pen, Pāṇini gives sanction to a number of such forms as *śrāvaṇaḥ śabdaḥ* (sound grasped

by the ear), *aulūkhalo yāvakaḥ* (lac pounded in a mortar), *āśvo rathaḥ* (a chariot drawn by horses), etc. noted by the Vṛttikāra. Besides, there are so many others, *kauṇapaḥ* (eater of a carcase), *smārtaḥ* (dictated by the *Smṛti*), *cākṣuṣaḥ* (an object of sight), *vaitaraṇī* (crosses with the help of charity) and *brāhmaṇaḥ* (one who knows Brahman).

There could not be a more convincing evidence of Pāṇini's regard for usage than his framing of the *sūtra* '*udīcāṁ māṅo vyatīhāre*[85]'. The people of the north used an expression *apamitya (apamāya) yācate* which is palpably wrong and in no way justifiable. *Ktvā* is used here in the absence of *paurvakālya* which grammar does not permit. Both the Vṛttikāra and the Kaumudīkāra agree in declaring that the *sūtra* is to provide for the use of *ktvā* in the case of *apūrvakāla* (absence of priority of action). It is only after a Brāhmaṇa has got something by begging that he seeks to barter it for something else. Naturally, therefore, *yācitvā 'pamayate* is what is reasonably expected. Pāṇini accepts *apamāya yācate* out of sheer regard for usage. But for it, he would have rejected it forthwith.

There is another equally strong evidence of Pāṇini's regard for usage. In framing the *sūtra* '*tadarham*[86]', he uses *tad* in conformity with the practice before his time. He is so carried away by it that he does not observe his own rule '*kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*[87]' which enjoins Genitive. How do we know that this was the usage in the case of *kṛdanta* from *arha*? There is widespread evidence in the literature of the *śiṣṭas* to this effect. Let us quote:

1. *na parityāgam arheyaṁ matsakāśād arindama*[88]
2. *indratvam arho rājāyaṁ tapasety anucintya vai*[89]
3. *vṛthāmaraṇam arhas tvaṁ vṛthā 'dya na bhaviṣyasi*[90]
4. *viddhyauśanasi bhadraṁ te na tvām arhos 'smi bhāmini*[91]
5. *arhaḥ purur idam rājyaṁ yaḥ sutaḥ priyakṛt tava*[92]
6. *arhas tvam asi dharmajña rājasūyaṁ mahākratum*[93]
7. *tvam eva rājaśārdūla samrāḍ arho mahākratum*[94]
8. *tasmāt pravāraṇaṁ pūrvam arhaḥ pārtho dhanañjayaḥ*[95]
9. *sudhanvan na tvam arho 'si mayā saha samāsanam*[96]
10. *śākhānagaram arhas tu sahasrapatir uttamaḥ*[97]

11. *arhas tvam asi kalyāṇaṁ vārṣṇeyaṁ śṛṇu yat param*[98]
12. *tadā visargam arhāḥ syur itīdaṁ dhātṛśāsanam*[99]
13. *lokān arho yān ahaṁ tān vidhatsva*[100]
14. *gātraṁ hi te lohitacandanārhaṁ kāṣāyasaṁśleṣam anarham etat*[101]
15. *naivārhaḥ paitṛkaṁ rktham*[102]

That there are here and there departures from this established usage does not affect its prevalence.

By sanctioning the form *aparasparāḥ* by his *sūtra* '*aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatye*[103]' Pāṇini accepts *aparasparāḥ* as a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*, an adverbial adjunct, implying continuity of action. He confirms his belief in the supremacy of usage. As a grammarian through and through, he would be the last person to permit the use of a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* in its Nominative. He would have all *kriyāviśeṣaṇas* used in the neuter singular of the Accusative without distinction. In fact, this use of *aparasparā* is a remnant of the Vedic usage in respect of the *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*. We have numerous instances of it in the Vedas. They are too well-known to the Vedic scholar to be listed here. A quotation or two would suffice. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reads *pūrvo rājño 'bhivadati.*[104] The *Gopatha* reads *vayaṁ pūrve svar eṣyāmo vayaṁ pūrve.*[105]

By his *sūtra* '*pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*[106]' Pāṇini says that all so-called irregular formations such as *pṛṣodara* with unaccounted for elision, augmentation and substitution are to be recognised as correct when met with in the speech, oral or written, of the *śiṣṭas*. *pṛṣodara* (the abdomen of a spotted antelope), though an irregular formation made up of *pṛṣat* and *udara* with the dropping of *t*, has to be accepted for it is there in the speech of the *śiṣṭas*. *balāhaka*, a cloud, has to be accepted in preference to *vārivāhaka*. Indeed the regular *vārivāhaka* cannot replace *balāhaka*. It cannot yield the sense of a cloud. It can only signify a water carrier. Similarly *jīmūta* is used for a cloud which obviously stands for the fuller *jīvanamūta* but *jīvanamūta* would not convey the sense of a cloud in which sense the word *jīmūta* has got to be used. It can stand for a cast of water, a water-jar. Such is usage and Pāṇini has unstinted regard for it.

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4

## Sanskrit Semantics

Semantics is always an interesting study. To know how words undergo changes in meanings and what processes, psychological, historical or political effect them, is the most rewarding to a sincere researcher. Words have their own stories to tell and they tell them in a charming way. Simply one has to attune one's ears to the tales secretly whispered into them. The tales may not be quite intelligible, a thick crust of our ignorance may have made them quite unfamiliar to us or the running sands of time may have rendered them obsolete and difficult to understand. Yet the words speak and we have to listen to them.

The development of meanings of words from their original sense is not always easy to trace, for, in many cases they have wandered off from one state to another till at last they have arrived at a point when they appear to be completely cut off from their original moorings. As in modern Indian languages, so in Sanskrit many words have undergone changes in meanings due to one cause or another. Of these causes *Lakṣaṇā* may be said to have exercised a strong influence. Sometimes a primary sense gives rise to a secondary one which in course of time completely supplants the former sense. This is what has happened in the case of such well-known words as *pravīṇa*, *kuśala* and *udāra*. The word *pravīṇa* primarily means one who is skilled in playing on the lute. Now, playing on the lute requires proficiency in the art as also practice, *abhyāsa*. From this *pravīṇa* has developed the secondary sense of 'proficient', which has altogether eclipsed the original meaning, similarly with *kuśala*. The word means

primarily one who cuts the *kuśa* grass, *kusān lātīti*. Now the cutting of the *kuśa* blades requires caution. One has to be careful and circumspect lest one should injure one's fingers, *te hi kuśā vyutpannair ādātuṁ śakyāḥ*. Hence the secondary meaning of the word *kuśala* is 'expert', 'skilful'. The same is the case with *udāra*. This word primarily means *udgata ārāt* (a horse or a bullock), one who needs not the whip (*āra*), viz., one who understands the implicit intention of the driver and acts accordingly. Thence it comes to mean one who knows the minds of the supplicants as they approach him and gives them gifts without promptings and pleadings from them; hence liberal. Here, too, the primary sense is altogether lost. All these are instances of what is known as *nirūḍhalakṣaṇā*. Let us look at some other more interesting but less discussed words and the changes in their meanings due to the power of indication.

Let us take the word *viśārada*. It means skilled, proficient. How has it developed this sense? Can we dissolve the compound as *viśiṣṭā śāradā yasya saḥ*. Well, the answer is no. Sāradā is the name of the goddess of learning and the goddess cannot be *viśiṣṭā* or otherwise. One cannot be distinguished from oneself. Moreover, in the *Amarakośa* the words *śārada* and *viśārada* are read side by side.[1] So we need not dissolve the compound as above. Rather, we should dissolve it, as has been done by Kṣīrasvāmin, as: *vigataṁ śāradam abhinavatvam asyeti viśāradaḥ;* one who is no longer a novice; having attained maturity. Hence the secondary sense of that of an expert. Now *śārada* means a novice. The derivative meaning is *śaradi bhavaḥ śāradaḥ;* belonging to the *śarad* (autumn) season, autumnal. This is the primary sense of the word. In course of time it develops the secondary sense of 'new'. With the advent of the autumn things begin to wear a new look. The sky shines blue, washed as it were of the dark clouds, and the muddy rivers and the rivulets begin to flow with their clear, blue waters. The gloom cast by the rainy season disappears, and everything looks new as it were. The *lākṣaṇika* meaning of the word *śārada* then is 'new'. In this very sense the word has been used by Pāṇini in the *sūtra śārade 'nārtave*.[2] The word *śārada* here means new, fresh. The example

given is *rajjuśāradam* (*udakam*). This has been explained by Jayāditya as *sadyo rajjūddhṛtam*[3] *udakam anupahataṁ rajjuśāradam ucyate*. This meaning of the word is given in the *Amarakośa*. From this secondary sense of 'new' (*pratyagra*), the development of another secondary (or more correctly tertiary) sense of 'novice' is only a step further. One who is new to a thing cannot be proficient in it. *Viśārada* then is what is opposite of *śārada*, 'not novice', 'mature'.

Another interesting word in this chain is *kṛpaṇa*. Primarily it means *kṛpyate kṛpāviṣayīkriyata iti kṛpaṇaḥ*, one who is pitied. In this sense we come across many uses in literature *kṛpaṇāḥ phalahetavaḥ*[4], *duhitā kṛpaṇaṁ param*[5]. Later, the word develops the sense of a miser. Society in ancient times, as even now, looked down upon the miser. His sight was and still is considered inauspicious in the morning. He was thus a pitiable creature. What has happened in this case is that what was formerly an adjective has become a proper noun. There are many instances of that.

*Upagūhana* is another word. Primarily it means 'to conceal'. Secondarily it has the sense of 'an embrace'. Embrace is represented here as concealing a person in one's self. When two loving souls meet, they clasp each other. Their effort usually is to embrace each other so closely that they may put each other in their own selves. Let there be one and not two. The word *upagūhana* produces powerful emotions in the mind.

The word *avarodha* for *antaḥpura* or harem is suggestive of the times when women were confined to the four walls of the royal palace and had no freedom to move out and mix with the people freely. The primary meaning of the word *avarodha* is confinement. Later it developed the sense of a harem for it is there that confinement is at its worst. So the word for confinement has come to mean a harem on account of social reasons. Since what is confined becomes hidden, unrecognized, *avaruddha* comes to mean incognito *avaruddho 'carat pārtho varṣāni tridaśāni ca* (MBh.)[6]

The word *vadānya* primarily means one who speaks *vadati* (*dīyatām*) *iti vadānyaḥ*. The word 'give' was considered to be the

most welcome in ancient times when charity was highly applauded. *Dāna* was considered to be leading to untold merit and there was no dearth of persons in whose homes this word 'give' was always to be heard. The word 'give' was the real word and one who spoke that was called *vadānya*. As only a generous person could say 'give', so the word *vadānya* has come to mean liberal.

The word *yāpya* is formed from √*yā* 'to go' in the causal sense with the suffix *yat*. Literally it means 'one to be sent out'. We have the primary sense in the *Gautama Dharma-Sūtra*.[7] The figurative meaning of this word, however, is 'to be discarded', 'to be ex-communicated'; hence *nindya*, reproachable, condemnable. In Amara's verse *śibikā yāpyayānaṁ syat* the word *yāpya* has been explained by Kṣīra as *yāpyasyāśaktasya yānam*[7], the carriage for one who is unable to walk, who is *yāpya* 'to be carried'. Here the word *yāpya* means weak, feeble, one who is to be carried to some place and cannot walk himself. It is interesting to note that here the primary sense of the word is also visible. In the Āyurveda the word *yāpya* means a disease which cannot be perfectly cured but continues to be treated. Such a disease can be continued only and the patient can in no way be immunised. Such diseases are leprosy, phthisis, piles and so on. This meaning of the word *yāpya* may suggest the process through which it has come to mean *nindya*. A person who is suffering from any fell disease (*roga*, *rujatīti rogaḥ*, which corrodes him) and cannot be cured becomes an object of people's reproach. They begin to say how unfortunate this disease-ridden man is! He thus becomes contemptible in their eyes. Similarly any other person who becomes an object of *nindā* on account of his silliness, misbehaviour or any other thing is also called *yāpya*. As for example, *yāpyo vaiyākaraṇaḥ*. This is the case of an *aupamika prayoga* usage based on similarity.

*Bhakti* primarily means service, loyalty, attachment, devotion. It implies subordination, servility, being the second to some one served. In the sphere of languages it comes to mean *upacāra*, secondary usage; as in *bahubhaktivādīni brāhmaṇāni*. Hence we

have the nominal derivative, *bhāktaḥ*, which simply means *gauṇa*, attributive, secondary.

The word *śuśrūṣā* means *śrotum icchā* 'the desire to listen'. The secondary meaning of the word is service. One who is anxious to listen to the words of others is *śuśrūṣu*. Now one listens only when one has a respectful attitude towards the person who speaks or when one is prepared to act at his bidding. In him there is the preparedness to act as the other person bids him to. And this is what service means. In the narrower sphere of studies this fact stood out more clearly. There was oral teaching in ancient India, a student anxious to learn a lore had to listen to the words as they came from the lips of his teacher. And this he could do only if he served him. *Śuśrūṣā* (desire to listen) thus came to mean service. It is a case of the means being expressed by the word for the end, *tādarthyāt tācchabdyam*.

The word *saṁskāra* is used in different senses in different places in Sanskrit literature, as for example, in *Raghuvaṁśa* it means polishing[9], grammatical purity[10], the impressions produced by the good or bad actions performed by an individual in a pervious life,[11] in *Kumāra-Sambhava* it means education and mental health.[12] The impressions are called *saṁskāras* because they remain clinging to the soul of the individual who performed the actions like the smell of a thing. It will be seen that the etymological sense of the word *saṁskāra* underlies all the senses given above. The word is formed from *saṁ-skṛ-ghañ (a)*. 's' is inserted before *kṛ* by the rules *samparibhyāṁ karotau bhūṣaṇe, samavāye ca*[13] after the prepositions *sam* and *pari* when it means 'to adorn' or 'to assemble'. The first three senses are directly derivable from the sense 'to adorn'; they are only different phases of adornment. The *saṁskāras* may in one sense be said to adorn a man inasmuch as all he does depends upon them, and which, therefore, are of prime importance. Or *saṁskāra* may mean a collection. And since no other collection is more important than that of good or bad deeds done by a man in previous births as affecting his present life, it may pre-eminently and of all other collections be said to be his *saṁskāra*.

The word *akṣata* means 'whole rice'. It has been rendered so by translators wherever it occurs. Literally it means 'uninjured' or 'unbruised'. It is only when rice is husked it gets injured. So later the word comes to mean whole grains of unhusked and well-cleaned rice, and accordingly it is used in the plural only. Here is the case of an adjective becoming a proper noun, after the manner of *sāgarāmbarā*, first sea-girt (earth), then the earth.

The word *tiraskṛta* properly means what is hidden from view (*antarhita*) and, therefore, not noticed as, in *tarutiraskṛta* screened by a tree; hence secondarily, what is not noticed even though not hidden. The further development of the meaning is to supersede, 'to excel'. When one of the two things by its superior excellence or other merits prominently draws attention to itself diverting it from the other, the second thing is called *tiraskṛta* or excelled by the other. Similarly, when a person is left out of account, he feels humiliated, hence *tiraskṛta* comes to mean *amānita*.

The word *anīka* means an army. The gradual development of its meaning is traced by S. P. Pandit[14] thus: *anīka* is originally the face; and meaning then the edge of any sharp weapon it signifies like the Latin Acies, the sharp edge or edge like appearance of an army in march i.e., a row. In classical Sanskrit the word only bears one signification derived from the last, viz., that of multitude or army.

The word *āvarjana* in the sense of attracting comes from √*vṛji kauṭilye* in the sense of tilting or bending. The primary sense of *āvarjana*, therefore, is bending towards (*āṅ*). The word is found used in this sense in *Raghuvaṁśa*[15] and *Kumārasambhava*.[16] In *kalaśam āvarjayati āvṛj* means to tilt and pour out the contents. From this primary sense of physical bending or tilting has developed the secondary sense of attracting, captivating, which is nothing but mental (bending) inclination for a thing.

The word *upāṁśu* means secret. Literally it means *upanivṛttā, upetya nivṛttā aṁśavo 'smāt* 'a place from which the rays have turned back' as they approach it; hence it means a retired or secret place.

The words *anukūla* and *pratikūla* literally mean 'following the bank or slope'and 'opposite to the bank', respectively. The secondary meaning of the words, however, is 'agreeable to'and 'opposed to', for along the bank or the stream movement is easier and vice versa. On account of the natural flow of water one swims on with the least resistance. So it is agreeable to swim along the bank and not against it. Hence the secondary meaning of *anukūla* etc. is 'agreeable'. Another word connected with the stream of water is *pratīpa* which means opposite, opposed. Primarily it means *pratigatā āpo 'tra*, where the flow of water is impeded. Then it comes to mean opposite, contrary, unfavourable.

A very common word used for fasting is *laṅghana*. Literally it means 'to cross over' or 'to leap over' (the meal-time). In another sense the word is used for injury, e.g., in *ātapalaṅghana*. The act of fasting leads inevitably to some emaciation of the body. The desire has also to be controlled. So fasting is an injury both physical and mental. Hence the evolution of the sense of injury from the sense of fasting.

The word *lāvaṇya* is generally derived from the word *lavaṇa* and means *lavaṇasya bhāvaḥ* 'saltness' or the 'property of salt'. This is its primary sense, and 'beauty', the secondary. K. C. Chatterji has his own conjecture to make. He derives it from the word *rāmaṇyaka*, an adaptation of *rāmaṇīyaka*.

The word *dhvānta* is from √*dhvana saṁśabdane* 'to shout together'. It means darkness. It seems a far cry from shouting together to darkness. The process of the evolution of one meaning from another is an interesting psychological study. It is very natural to hear people shouting to each other when they are not able to see each other in the pitch dark and so get separated from each other. As they all call out to each other, there is a confused noise all around. Now, as that *saṁśabdana* takes place on account of the darkness the word itself has come to mean darkness. This conjecture gets welcome support from a passage in the *Ṛgveda* where the words *dhvānta* and *tamaḥ* are used side by side[15], *dhvāntaṁ tamo 'va dadhvase hata indro mahnā pūrvahūtāv*

*apatyata*[17] being used as an adjective, meaning darkness in which there is shouting, hence thick darkness.

The word *aniśam* is dissolved as *nāsti niśā yasmin tat* 'that (action) wherein there is no night'. Actually the word *niśā* does not have the primary sense of the night here. As the night is for rest, the word has here the secondary sense of rest or the cessation of activity. So *aniśam* means restlessly or, in other words, ceaselessly.

The primary meaning of the word *śakuna* is 'bird'. The development of the secondary sense of an omen from *śakuna* is very interesting. The ancient Indians believed in bird-omens. As they were in direct communion with the natural phenomena all around them, they had an intimate knowledge of the actions and movements of the plants and the birds and the effect, good or bad, they exercised on the human life. The word *śakuna* is a pointer to the times when our ancestors had an implicit faith in the cries and the movements of the birds as communicators of the future.

The word *oṣadhīnātha* means the Moon. How it has come to mean the moon has been ingeniously brought out by S. P. Pandit in the following words:

> *Properly speaking oṣadhīnāṁ nāthaḥ or the king of plants' is the Soma plant which being largely used in sacrifices, naturally came to be regarded as the highest plant, and be styled the king of plants. The key to the fact of oṣadhīpati meaning both the Soma plant and the Moon seems to lie in the word indu. This word is frequently found in the Ṛgveda, but always in the sense of (1) drops of the Soma juice, and (2) the Soma juice itself. It appears the word indu coming then to signify a globule, or a round little body very naturally became a name of the fuller Moon. Now according to a very common principle that has had such a prominent influence on the development of the Sanskrit vocabulary, viz., that whenever a vocable that signifies two things, has*

*other synonyms, those other synonyms also become each expressive of the same two things, the word Soma acquired the additional sense of Moon. Then, as is very common in the growth of mythology, the conceptions, attributes etc. connected with the original personified or rather deified concept Soma, viz., that of the plant, became attached to the new concept, viz., that of the Moon. Thus the whole derivation may be put in the following pseudological form. The word indu meant both a drop of the juice of the sacrificial plant, (or the juice itself) and the Moon, a synonym of indu in the first sense is the word soma therefore, soma meant both the plant and the Moon. Now, because Soma, the plant was developed into a personification by certain attributes, therefore, Soma, the Moon, acquired also the same attributes. And thus it is that the Moon also came to be described as the King or Lord of the plants."*[18]

The argument is plausible, not decisive. The very first link in the argument is weak. It is not clear how *indu* came to signify the moon. The authors of the Worterbuch also confess to the ignorance of the process by which this new signification developed. It is imagined that it first came to mean a little round body, and then the full moon. It is, to say the least, unconvincing. Indeed the contrary would be more natural, more true. The little shining drops of *soma* (*indu*) came to be compared to the moon, they were conceived as moon-like, the little moons, the moon being the recognised standard of comparison. We are supported in this contention by a Brāmaṇa passage: *candraṁ candreṇa krīṇāti yat somaṁ hiraṇyena krīṇāti*. Here the *soma* is called *candra* (the moon) as gold is. Obviously *candra* meaning primarily the moon is only a secondary appellation of the *soma* and gold. As for transference of epithets, we admit it is a common phenomenon in mythology. But transference as such should be

one which we cannot otherwise explain. For example, when Kṛṣṇa is called *madhusūdana* or *kaiṭabhāri*, we cannot explain these epithets unless we assume transference of epithets originally belonging to Viṣṇu with whom the former came to be identified. For we know that Lord Kṛṣṇa never slew the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha; it was Viṣṇu who did it long before in the *Satyayuga*. The present is a doubtful case of transference. The moon is doubtless *oṣadhīnātha* because she protects the herbs by helping them with moisture. The epithet is easily explained without transference.

The primary sense of the word *nibhṛta* seems to be brimful (*nitarāṁ bhṛtam*). We have the use of the word in this sense (*cintayā nibhṛtaḥ*). With human beings it means well-satisfical vide *Rāmāyaṇa* '*bhuktāś ca bhogā nibhṛtāś ca bhṛtyāḥ.*[19]' Now what is brimful makes no sound; (*samūrṇakumbho na karoti śabdam*) hence the meaning silent, quiet. In this sense we have a number of uses in literature *ko 'yaṁ bho nibhṛtaṁ tapovanam idaṁ grāmīkaroty ājñayā*[20], *niṣkampavṛkṣaṁ nibhṛtadvirephaṁ kānanam,*[21] *kāraṇena mayā naibhṛtyam avalambitam*[22]. Since all sound is a form of energy produced by motion (technically vibration) the absence of sound presupposes the absence of motion; *niṣkampacāmaraśikhā nibhṛtordhvakarṇāḥ,*[23] *anibhṛtakareṣv ākṣipatsu priyeṣu,*[24] *vāridhīn iva yugāntavāyavaḥ kṣobhayanty anibhṛtā gurūn api*[25]. Hence the meaning 'silent' develops into motionless. From physical motionlessness and silence it is only a step to mental quietude. *Nibhṛtātmā* means *śāntamanāḥ* 'of an unruffled mind'. In case of the mind absence of motion could mean absence of vacillation wavering, swerving, i.e., firmness, resoluteness; hence the meaning firmly attached, faithful. Later these two meanings, silent and motionless, combine to give us the meaning 'secret' for secrecy implies silence and motionlessness. *Nibhṛtam iti cintanīyam śīghram iti sukaram*[26]. Now secrecy implies concealment; hence the meaning hidden, out of sight; *nabhasā nibhṛtendunā.*[27] Again, from the primary sense of fulness may be traced the sense 'humble', for fulness contributes to heaviness and heaviness to inclination. a tree bends

under the weight of the fulness of its fruit. A man full of virtues will naturally bend. Playwright Viśākhadatta used the word in this sense; *praṇāmanibhṛtā kulavadhūr iva.*[28]

The word *vaṁśa* means a bamboo tree. It also means a family. The use of the word in the sense of 'family' seems to rise from the similarity that it (the family) has with the bamboo tree, *vaṁśa iva iti vaṁśaḥ.* A bamboo tree never grows alone. Initially one, in course of time it gets surrounded with others of its variety and there develops a full grove. It is the hope of every Hindu that his family should grow and multiply just as the bamboo tree grows and develops into a cluster. So this happy idea of the growth of the family is at the back of the use of the word *vaṁśa* for 'family'.

The word *jugupsā* originally meaning desire to breed cows has had to pass through a rather tortuous path to yield the present sense of aversion. It is from √*gup* to breed cows etc. The emphasis after some time shifted from cows to breeding. Now as breeding requires protection, the stem comes to mean 'to protect'. As protection means keeping a thing away from others, it comes to signify concealment. The process of change does not stop at that. It continues. Now only that thing is usually concealed which repels or turns a man away. It is in this way that the word has come to mean abomination.

Primarily, the word *vaidya* means learned, *vidyām adhīte veda vā* 'who studies literature or knows it'. Secondarily, it means 'a physician'. The secondary meaning of the word has become so popular that it has overshadowed the primary one. Of course, the word is used in the sense of a learned man in the epics still. Even there it is not very common. The development of the secondary sense being fairly early, we are forced to the conclusion that peoples' mind must have conceived Āyurveda to be the most important branch of study, the *vidyā*. This was very natural. For the people suffering from a legion ailments, and diseases only that *vidyā* is the proper *vidyā* in the sense that it may give relief to them. *Vidyā*, therefore, comes to mean Āyurveda, the science of medicine and a man proficient in the *vidyā*, the Āyurveda is, therefore, a *vaidya*. The word *kavirāja* is also important in this

context. It also supports the above conjecture. This means a learned man or 'prince among learned men'.

The root *īkṣ* with *up* means 'to ignore'. That this was not the sense in the times of Yāska *tad etenopekṣitavyam*[29] is clear from the sense of lookng closely or examining thoroughly, in which he uses it. It has the sense of nearness. The word has psychological and physical background. A distant thing is not clearly visible. A thing near at hand can be seen clearly and minutely. So far so right. But when the thing comes too near the eye, it can't be seen at all. If somebody were to read a book with its pages touching the eyelids, he won't be able to read much and would soon begin to feel that he should give up the attempt. So *upekṣā* comes to mean not seeing which is the same thing as ignoring.

The word *abhiyukta* means accused. It means 'connected with'. The question is with what? Evidently with an offence: *doṣeṇabhiyuktaḥ*. *Abhiyukta* is one who is connected or charged with an offence.

The word *doṣe* (offence) came to be dropped as the ellipsis could be easily supplied mentally, for the word was repeatedly used in the context of crimes. According to Vijñāna Bhikṣu *abhiyukta* also means 'to question', to inquire as in *Yājñavalkya Smṛti.*[30] *Abhiyukta* then primarily means questioned, interrogated; hence a suspect, or an accused person.

The word *dravya* also offers an equally interesting study. The grammarians of the Pāṇinian School would derive it from *dru* (tree): *drur iva dravyam,* something like a tree. What is striking about a tree? Its parts. They are so distinct; they are all visible to the naked eye. A tree is an aggregate of so many parts; hence it is defined as *śākhādimān padārthaḥ*. Now all concrete things are made up of parts after the manner of the tree, they are *avayavins*, though the parts are not always distinct. Thus being like the tree, (*dru*), they are called *dravya*. This is the primary sense of the word. From this general sense follows the specified sense of a substance, substratum of properties, as the Vaiśeṣikas have it. According to it abstract notions such as *guṇa, karma* etc. are not

*dravya* for they are not the substrata of property or properties (*guṇāśraya*). From this specified sense again develops yet another sense of fit or suitable, person or object, a worthy person, one who is possessed of qualities (of head and heart); hence *bhavya* blessed, promising. Pāṇini notes this meaning in his *sūtra dravyaṁ ca bhavye*.[31] That the word *dravya* in this sense is used in the neuter even when used in apposition with a noun of a different gender unerringly points to the fact that it is only an extended meaning of the term of the Vaiśeṣikas. A person is *dravya* for he is *guṇāśraya*, as a substance is *dravyam iva dravyam*.

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2. VI. 2.9.
3. *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini VI. 2.9.
4. *Gītā*, 2.49
5. *Manu*. 4.185.
6. Vide Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under, *avaruddha*.
7. 13.23
8. Kṣīra on *Amara*. III.i.6.
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10. 8.74
11. 15.76
12. 1. 20
13. Pāṇ. VI.1.137-8
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15. 6.15
16. 11.25
17. *Ṛgveda*, 10.113.7
18. S. P. Pandit's note on *Raghu*. 2.73 in his editions (B. S. Series).
19. VI. 109.22.
20. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act I.
21. *Kumārasambhava*, 3.42.
22. *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act III.
23. *Śākuntala*, 1.8
24. *Meghadūta*, 68.

25. *Kirāta*, 13.66
26. *Śākuntala*, Act 3
27. *Raghu.* 8.15
28. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act I
29. *Nirukta*, 1.6.18.
30. Vide Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
31. 5.3.104

# 5

## √Kṛ in its Various Meanings

The Mahābhāṣyakāra has enunciated under the *sūtra* '*bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*' (1.3.1) the well-known principle of Sanskrit Semantics: *bahvarthā api dhātavo bhavanti*. No other root illustrates this better than √*kṛ*. Among the illustrations of the above principle the Mahābhāṣyakāra gives a few from √*kṛ* too: *karotir abhūtaprādurbhāve dṛṣṭaḥ nirmalīkaraṇe cāpi vartate pṛṣṭhaṁ kuru, pādau kuru, unmṛdāneti gamyate, nikṣepaṇe cāpi varate kaṭe kuru, ghaṭe kuru, aśmānam itaḥ kuru, sthāpayeti gamyate.* √*Kṛ*, which is found in the sense of 'to bring into being what did not exist before,' is found in the sense of 'to rub off' too, e.g., *pṛṣṭhaṁ kuru,* 'rub off the back', *pādau kuru*, 'rub off the feet'; it is also to be met with in the sense of 'to put', 'to place', e.g., *kaṭe kuru, ghaṭe kuru, aśmānam itaḥ kuru* 'put on the mat', 'put on the pitcher','put the stone this side'. Sanskrit literature furnishes many more instances of the variety of meanings that this root signifies. And the reason for this is no far to seek. √*Kṛ* signifies, *kriyāsāmānya*, action in general. Since all *kriyāviśeṣas*, actions in particular, are fundamentally action, *yathā liṅgasarvanāma napuṁsakaṁ tathā kriyāsarvanāma karotiḥ*, √kṛ comes to signify the various aspects of action denoted by other roots. The present paper is an attempt to pinpoint some of the more prominent and peculiar of these *kriyāviśeṣas*, actions, actions in particular,[1] that this root signifies.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse *prabhātāṁ rajanīṁ dṛṣṭvā cakre śobhāṁ parāṁ punaḥ*[2] √*kṛ* is used in the sense 'to begin' (*ādikarma*). In the Bhavabhūti verse *vitarati guruḥ prājñe vidyāṁ*

*tathaiva yathā jaḍe na ca khalu tayor jñāne śaktiṁ karoty apahanti vā,*[3] √*kṛ* means 'to create', 'to generate'. The same precisely is its meaning in the popular expression *bhayaṅkara* which is dissolved as *bhayaṁ karoti, karoti* evidently meaning *utpādayati*, 'to feel', 'to experience' is, however, the sense of √*kṛ* with *bhaya* in the *Mahābhārata* verses:

i. *na bhayaṁ cakrirā pārthāt* [4]

ii. *na cakāra bhayaṁ prāpte bhaye mahati māriṣa*[5]

In the *Manusmṛti* verse *brāhamaṇaḥ praṇavaṁ kuryād ādāv ante ca sarvadā,*[6] √*kṛ* means 'to utter'; *kuryāt* = *uccārayet*. In the expression *padaṁ mithyā kārayate* which is formed by Pāṇ. *mithyopapadāt kṛño 'bhyāse* (1.3.71), √*kṛ* means 'to utter repeatedly', *abhyāsa*. In Pāṇ. *śabdadarduraṁ karoti* (4.4.34), √*kṛ* means to analyse; *śābdika* is one who analyses a word, *śabdaṁ karoti: karoti = vyākhyāti, prakṛtipratyayādipravibhāgena viśleṣayati*. While explaining Pāṇ. *kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaś ca* (4.3.104) Kāśikākāra says: *pratyakṣakāriṇo gṛhyante na tu śiṣyaśiṣyāḥ*. The *Padamañjarī* explains *pratyakṣakāriṇaḥ* as *pratyakṣa*, from which the evident conclusion would be that √*kṛ* in *pratyakṣakāriṇaḥ* means 'to study', 'to learn'. This is also precisely the sense in the *Mahābhārata* verses *astrārtham āgamaṁ dūrvāṁ dhanurvedacikīrṣayā*[7] *mānitaḥ kurute 'strāṇi śakrasadmani bhārata*[8]; *cakārā 'ṅgirasāṁ śreṣṭhād dhanurvedaṁ guros tadā*[9] (vide Nīlakaṇṭha's comment *cakāra=adhijage*) and the Āpastamba verse *yāṁ vidyāṁ kurute gurau.*[10] 'To practise' is the sense of the root in the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse *ūnaṣoḍaśavarṣo 'yam akṛtāstraś ca rāghavaḥ*[11] (vide: Maheśvaratīrtha's comment: *akṛtāstraḥ= anabhyastāstraḥ*). 'To give' or 'to offer' is the sense of √*kṛ* in the *Atharva* verse *yatra śulko na kriyate abalena balīyase,*[12] the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse *abhyagacchan surāḥ sarve tapaḥphalacikīrṣvaḥ*[13] (vide: Govindarāja's comment: *tapaḥphalaṁ dātum icchavaḥ*; Maheśvaratīrtha's comment: *tad dātum icchavaḥ*), and the *Manusmṛti* verse: *sapavitrāṁs tilān api agnau kuryāt.*[14]

The same is precisely the sense when the root is used with *udaka* a few specimens of which are:

*tato godāvarīṁ gatvā nadīṁ naravarātmajau।*
*udakaṁ cakratus tasmai gṛdhrarājāya tāv ubhau॥*[15]

*saṁskṛtya vālinaṁ te tu vidhipūrvaṁ plavaṅgamāḥ।*
*ājagmur udakaṁ kartuṁ nadīṁ śītajalāṁ śubhām॥*[16]

*patanti pitaro hy eṣāṁ luptapiṇḍodakakriyāḥ।*[17]
*patitasyodakaṁ kāryaṁ sapiṇḍair bāndhavair bahiḥ॥*[18]

*nāsya kāryo 'gnisaṁskāro na ca kāryodakakriyā।*[19]
*nātrivarṣasya kartavyā bāndhavair udakakriyā।*[20]

At another place in the same work √*kṛ* has been used in the sense of 'to lay down': *ṛṣayaś cakrire dharmaṁ yo 'nūcānaḥ sa no mahān*[21] (vide: Medhātithi's comment; *cakrire* = *vyavasthāpitavantaḥ*. Pāṇini *kṛño dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt kṛṣau* (5.4.58) provides us with the indication of the sense of 'tilling' of √*kṛ*. In the expression *bījākaroti kṣetram* √*kṛ* means 'to till'. The same meaning we come across in *akṛtaṁ ca kṛtāt kṣetrāt* and *phālāhatam api kṣetraṁ na kuryād yo na kārayet* in the *Manu*[22]- and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛtis*[23] respectively. 'To spend', 'to pass', is another sense of √*kṛ* in which it is found used in the *Ṛgveda*: *bahvīḥ samā akaram antar asmin*[24] and the *Mahābhārata* verse *cakrus tenābhyanujñātā daśa varṣāṇi pañca ca.*[25] This gets support from Pāṇini *samayāc ca yāpanāyām* (5.4.60) which enjoins the suffix *ḍāc* to the word *samaya* with √*kṛ* in the sense 'to spend', 'to pass,' *samayākaroti=samayaṁ yāpayati*. 'To outrage (the modesty)' is the sense of √*kṛ* in Manu verse: *abhiṣahya tu yaḥ kanyāṁ kuryād darpeṇa mānavaḥ.*[26] To narrate is the sense of √*kṛ* in the *Daśakumāracarita* line *tanmūlām atimahatīṁ kathām akarot.*[27] In such expressions as *śūlākaroti māṁsam* formed by Pāṇini *śulāt pāke* (5.4.65) √*kṛ* means 'to cook'. This is also the sense in such popular expressions as *kṛtākṛtās taṇḍulāḥ*[28], *kṛtānnam*, etc. In the well-known expression *padakāra* √*kṛ* means 'to split'; (*padam*) *karoti* = *avagṛhṇāti*.

In *śakṛtkarir vatsaḥ* formed by Pāṇini *stambaśakṛtor in* (3.2.64) √*kṛ* means 'to emit'. 'To accept' is the sense of √*kṛ* in the expressions like *dārān kurvīta siddhaye*, *akṛtadāraḥ*, etc. In the expression *cauraṅkāram ākrośati* formed by Pāṇini *karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñaḥ khamuñ* (3.4.25) √*kṛ* means 'to cry'. Under Pāṇini

*rogāccāpanayane* (5.4.49) Kāśikākāra gives illustrations: *pravāhikātaḥ kuru, kāsataḥ kuru, chardikātaḥ kuru* where evidently the sense of √*kṛ* is to cure. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse:

> *havir ājyaṁ puroḍāśaḥ kuśā yūpāś ca khādirāḥ* ।
> *naitāni yātayāmāni kurvanti punar adhvare* ॥[29]

√*kṛ* means 'to serve the purpose', *viniyoga* (vide Govindarāja's and Maheśvaratīrtha's comment: *kurvanti = viniyuñjate*).

In the *Ṛgveda kṛdhi no bhāgadheyam*[30] √*kṛ* means 'to apportion'. 'To carry' is the sense of √*kṛ* in the *Hitopadeśa* line *sa bhāryāṁ śirasā 'karot*[31], *akarot = uvāha*. In the *Mahābhārata* verse *akṛtā te matis tāta punar bālyena muhyase*[32] √*kṛ* means 'to become mature', *akṛtā = aparipakvā*. In the *Nalacampū* line *mā śoke manaḥ kṛthāḥ*[33] 'to turn' is the sense of √*kṛ*. 'To confirm' is the sense of √*kṛ* in *satyākaroti vaṇik bhāṇḍam* given as an illustration of Pāṇini *satyād aśapathe* (5.4.66). A quotation from Kātyāyana in *Aparārkaṭīkā* contains √*kṛ* in the sense of 'to prove'. The quotation is: *abhiyoktā dhanaṁ kuryāt prathamaṁ jñātibhiḥ svakam.*[34] In the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* expression *daṇḍaṁ karoti,*[35] √*kṛ* means 'to award'. 'To appoint', 'to assign to somebody' are the senses of √*kṛ* in such expressions as *paurohitye ca cakre tam.*

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse *kuru no yācanāṁ putra sītā tiṣṭhatu bhāminī,*[36] √*kṛ* means to fulfil.

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1. Hence no notice of the rather well-known meanings of √*kṛ* in expressions like *hṛdi karoti, manasi karoti, kuru ghanoru padāni śanaiḥ śanaiḥ, kariṣyasi padaṁ punar āśrame'smin, śanaiḥ śanaiḥ śyāmikayā padaṁ kṛtam, ākṛtiviśeṣeṣv ādaraḥ padaṁ karoti, kṣaṇaṁ kṛtaḥ, kṛtakṣaṇaḥ, kṣaṇaṁ kuru, añjaliṁ karoti, kṛtāñjaliḥ,* etc.
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3. *Uttararāmacarita*, II. 4
4. Āśvamedhikaparvan, 77.3 (Chitrashala Press Edition)
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6. II 74.
7. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan, 131.40. (Chitrashala Press Edition)

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31. III.2.4.
32. Āśvamedhikaparvan, 2.15 (Chitrashala Press Edition).
33. XIV.22.
34. P.171.
35. 14.14
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6

## Lāvaṇya, Kirāṭa and Kāhalā

### Lāvaṇya

The word *lāvaṇya* is generally derived from the word *lavaṇa* and means *lavaṇasya bhāvaḥ*, 'saltness' or 'the property of salt.' This is its primary sense, and 'beauty', the secondary. K. C. Chatterjee has his own conjecture to make.[1] He derives it from the word *rāmaṇyaka*, an adaptation of *rāmaṇīyaka*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] the word *rāmaṇyaka* is used twice. Chatterjee assumes that it is there in place of the regular *rāmaṇīyaka* due to metrical exigencies. He then proceeds to trace the process of evolution of the word *lāvaṇya* from the ungrammatical form adopted only for the sake of metre. According to him, *rāmaṇyaka* first loses its *ka*, then *r* is changed to *l* and *y* to *v* by the process of dissimilation and the word *lāvaṇya* emerges. The view is most unconvincing. It proceeds from a very weak premise. It is extremely doubtful if a wrong form which is there because the author could not otherwise compose in a given metre could be a current coin and could lead in course of time to the development of a current form of common usage. The loss of *ka* also remains unexplained. Moreover, the word *lāvaṇya* grievously suffers in sense if the suggested derivation from *rāmaṇyaka* is accepted. *Lāvaṇya* does not stand for ordinary beauty. It is more than *rūpa* (beauty of form), and *kānti* (grace) and even *mādhurya* (sweetness). Those who have seen salt in the quarries know how shining and lustrous it is. Even huge columns of salt are almost transparent. So the beauty which is as shining and lustrous as the rocky salt is called *lāvaṇya*. It is defined as:

*muktāphaleṣu chāyāyās taralatvam ivāntarā* ।
*pratibhāti yad aṅgeṣu tal lāvaṇyam ihocyate*॥

This means that *lāvaṇya* is comparable to the sheen of pearls. This definition is a pointer to the fact that writers on technical works were conscious of the connection of *lāvaṇya* with *lavaṇa* (salt).[3]

According to G. B. Palsule,[4] too, the word *lāvaṇya* is derived from *rāmaṇya*, the process of derivation being the same as assumed by K. C. Chatterjee. Palsule is unable to understand any connection that *lavaṇa* may have with beauty. In his view if *lāvaṇya* is derived from *lavaṇa* it would mean saltness or saltiness and from saltness to loveliness would be rather a far cry. That this is not the case has been pointed out by us above. *Lāvaṇya* means the sheen of salt.

In course of time the idea of sheen became more prominent while the sense of salt was given up. The word *lāvaṇya*, therefore, should be derived not from *rāmaṇyaka* or *rāmaṇya*, the corrupt form of *rāmaṇīyaka* but from *lavaṇa* directly. The meaning 'beauty' will not require the original meaning 'saltness' to pass through the stages of tastefulness and gracefulness to arrive at the meaning of beauty. If the word *lāvaṇya* is derived from *lavaṇa* the sense would not suffer at all. Instead it would gain in as much as *rāmaṇīyaka* would be ordinary beauty while *lāvaṇya* would be more than that.

## Kirāṭa

Another word which has provoked some discussion about its exact descent is *kirāṭa*, meaning a merchant. It is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the verse *atyantakṛpaṇaḥ kaścit kirāṭo dhanadhānyavān.*[5] In the *Kṛtyakalpataru*[6] *kirāṭa* is said to be a merchant who deals in prohibited ware like oil or ghee, a sense which Monier-Williams records and this is not improbable. The meaning is clear. The word is used down to this day in the sense of a *banya* (a merchant in general) in the West Punjab and the N.W. Provinces of the pre-partition days. Yet scholars have sought to assign it a specified sense which neither tradition nor vogue countenances. Bhogi Lal G. Sandesara thinks that *kirāṭa*

does not mean a mere merchant but a highly deceitful one on the basis of the following verses from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī:*

> *candanāṅkālike śvetāṅśuke dhūpādhivāsini* ।
> *viśvastaḥ syāt kirāṭe yo viprakṛṣṭe'sya nāpadaḥ* ।
>
> *lalāṭadṛkkṣatraśrotradvandvahṛdgrastacandanaḥ* ॥
> *ṣaḍbindur vṛścika iva kṣaṇāt prāṇāntakṛd vaṇik* ॥[7]

Bhogilal is evidently mistaken. He has failed to understand the text. The second stanza is a mere amplification of the first. He suggests that *kirāṭa* has been derived from *kirāta* by cerebralization, the transference of meaning being made possible by metaphorical process. There is a marked similarity between the predatory habits of wild tribes like *kirāta* and cheating proclivities of the merchants and hence the evolution of semantical change.[8]

Raghavan traces the word *kirāṭa* in the satires of the Kashmirian Kṣemendra who mentions it as a sub-species of the predatory Kāyastha.[9] In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* the word has been used in the sense of a *baniya* in general. Following the line of evolution suggested by Bhogilal, we may say that as every *banya* in being deceitful and ruthless in his transactions had so much in common with a *kirāta* he came to be called by the same name slightly modified, viz. *kirāṭa*. Here is clearly a case of expansion of the meaning of the word *kirāṭa*, if the word *kirāṭa* is a *tadbhava* from it.

Ranjit Pandit in his *River of Kings* (page 350 and page 362) translates *kirāṭa* as Bhils, an aboriginal Indian tribe of the Vindhya hills and Rajputana. Eventually he too is linking the word *kirāṭa* with *kirāta*. As in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* a *kirāṭa* is said to be flourishing in the Vindhya forest (*vindhyāṭavī-kakṣe*) this meaning also can very well fit in the context.

## Kāhalā

The word *kāhalā* is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse:

> *siddhavidyādharonmuktapuṣpavarṣasahasrabhṛt* ।
> *dhvananmṛdaṅgamurajakāhalāśaṅkhadundubhi* ॥[10]

The word is used in Sanskrit literature in all the three genders. There is a lot of discussion as to what it exactly signifies. As in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse quoted above, the word *kāhalā* has been used with *mṛdaṅga*, *muraja*, *śaṅkha* and *dundubhi*—all musical instruments, it must also mean one such thing. But what exactly is it? According to Baldev Prasad Mishra,[11] it is somewhat like a drum, the view which is contested by Jagannath Prasad Shukla[12] who believes that *kāhalī* was a bugle resembling very much the *dhustūra* flower. He records the fact that this bugle is sounded even now at the time of the procession of the Vaiṣṇava saints. The editor of the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* in which Mishra's note appears gives very useful information with regard to this word. He notes various dictionary meanings of the word. Thus according to Macdonell, *kāhala* in the masculine gender means a large drum while *kāhalā* in the feminine gender means a kind of wind instrument. Monier-Williams gives the meaning of neuter *kāhala* as a kind of musical instrument. V. S. Apte in his *A Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* mentions the meaning of the word *kāhalā* as 'a large army drum'. Hemacandra in his comment on the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* quotes the verse:

> *kāhalā tu kuhālā syāc caṇḍakolāhalā ca sā* ।
> *saṁveśapratibodhārthaṁ dragaḍadrakaṭāv ubhau* ॥

which tells us that *kāhalā* is a kind of musical instrument also called *kuhālā* which produces a terrible noise. In *Rāmāśramī* the commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*, the word *ādi* in *vaṁśādikam* is said to mean *kāhalā* etc. (*ādipadāt kāhalādipadam*) from where the conclusion would be irresistible that *kāhalā* like the flute was a musical instrument to be blown by the mouth. In the *Śabdakalpadruma* the *dhastūra* flower is called *kāhalāpuṣpa*, the meaning of which is 'that the form of which resembles *kāhalā*.' As the *dhastūra* flower is very long *kāhalā* must also have been a long pipe sort of a thing which was not necessarily an army bugle as V. S. Apte in his dictionary says. The reference in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* would not support this view although in the *Harṣacarita*[13] and the *Kādambarī*[14] of Bāṇa it has been used in

the context of the army movements in connection with military expeditions. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala thinks that *kāhalā* is a musical instrument like a pipe. In Hindi he calls it *turahi*.[15] The editorial note on the word *kāhalī* in the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, already referred to above, mentions the interesting fact that a pipe-like musical instrument *kahalla* is still used in Karṇāṭaka and serves the purpose of announcing the visit of officials. It is also used at the annual celebrations in honour of the village deity. Ānandabodha Sarasvatī, the commentator of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, explains *kāhalā* as *kārṇālasaṁjñako vādyaviśeṣaḥ*. As the word *kārṇāla* has not been traced in the extant literature, the commentator's explanation of *kāhalā* does not enlighten us at all as to what type of musical instrument it signified. We have, therefore, to depend upon, as we have done above, other evidence to arrive at the exact signification of the word. From the various references to the word in Sanskrit literature at least this can be said that there is no difference in the senses of *kāhalā*, *kāhala* and *kāhalī*. All of these mean a kind of musical instrument, *turahi* in the words of Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala, which is blown from the mouth. There is a difference in gender only as in the case of the *taṭa* which is found in all the three genders in one and the same sense.

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2. III.25.5
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5. Vi (4) 83-16
6. Hārīta quoted in *Gārhasthyakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru*, p. 227.
7. VIII. 132-133.
8. 'A Note on the Word *Kirāṭa*—A Deceitful Merchant, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VIII, March-April, 1947.

9. V. Raghavan, Kirāṭa, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VIII. 57, May-June-July, 1947, p. 176. Also see V Raghavan, 'Kāyastha', *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V; N. 7, October, 1943, p. 160-162.
10. III. 59.5.
11. 'Pīṭhamarda aur Chāyānāṭaka', *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. 51, No. IV, Saṁvat 2003.
12. *Kādambarī—Ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp.6, 31, 77, 117, 126; *Harṣa Carita—Ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana.*

7

## Etymologies in the Devībhāgavatapurāṇa

It is not uncommon in the Purāṇas to come across etymologies of words. They occur for different purposes of explanation of particular shades or nuances of their meanings or for elucidation of an idea or just for emphasis. Quite a few are fanciful and farfetched. Some are genuine and acceptable. A close look at them in any case is a desideratum in bringing to light the motivation of the author or authors of the Purāṇas to go in for them and in tracing the development of the process of derivation of words down the centuries. Each Purāṇa needs to be subjected to a thorough analysis from this point. The material yielded thus needs to be correlated to that from other works of the same genre as also earlier works like the Brāhmaṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and so on to draw a connected picture. It is in this spirit that the present study is undertaken.

Here while dealing with the etymologies the context in which they occur is also traced. This is done to put them in proper perspective. It is from the context that they flow. An effort is also made here to reproduce etymologies of the same words, as far as they are available, from other works to institute comparisons to enable a reader to judge for himself the propriety or otherwise of a given etymology.

The Purāṇas are no texts on etymology. If they still furnish examples of it, they show the influence this discipline exercised on their author/authors. The etymologies appear in their works just by the way. Even this 'by the way' attempt could be, as indeed it is, useful.

The first etymology that one comes across in the *Devībhāgavata* is of the word *gṛha* which is derived from √*grah*, 'to hold': *gṛhṇāti puruṣaṁ yasmād gṛhaṁ tena prakīrtitam,*[1] *gṛha* is so called because it holds a person, it keeps him to it. This derivation agrees with Pāṇini as well who explains the formation of the word from √*grah* with the suffix *ka*, vide his rule *gehe kaḥ.*[2]

The word *putra* carries in this *Purāṇa* its traditional derivation from *Put*, a hell of that name:

> *punnāmanarakād yasmāt trāyate pitaraṁ svakam* ı
> *putreti nāma sārthaṁ syāt tena tasya mahātmanaḥ* ıı[3]
>
> *punnāmno narakād yasmāt trāyate pitaraṁ sutaḥ* ı
> *tasmāt putra it proktaḥ svayam eva svayambhuvā* ıı[4]

*Putra* is so called because he protects, i.e. keeps away the forefathers from the hell called *Put*. *Putra* thus is *put+ tra*.

The story of Dakṣiṇa gives the rationale of different words for husband. In this context occurs the etymology of the words *bhartṛ* and *pati*;

> *bharaṇād eva bhartā ca pālanāt patir ucyate.*[5]

*bhartṛ* is so called because he supports and *pati* because he protects or supports (*pālana* may mean support too). The etymologies are given here keeping the sense and the sound in view. Since it is the husband who is the main support of the household, it is proper that he be called *bhartṛ*, derived as the word is from √*bhṛ*, the first part in the word suggesting it: *bhar*< *bhṛ+ tṛ*, the first part in *pati* suggests *pā* in it: *pā+ ti, pā* meaning 'to protect' though in the etymology as given is the Purāṇa it is taken to mean *pālana,* 'to support', the same meaning as that of √*bhṛ*.

Interestingly with such exceptions as mentioned above, all the etymologies in the *Devībhāgavata* pertain to proper names and are based on some similarity of the word with its inferred source, the connection between the two being explained, not unoften, from the point of view of sense on the basis of some myth or legend. Thus *medinī* meaning the earth is derived from *medas,* marrow; that is how the first part in it is taken. Once this view is

taken, the word will have to be connected with some myth. That myth happens to be in this case the slaying of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha whose marrow on being destroyed had swamped the entire ocean turning it into a mass of land. It was because of their *medas,* marrow, that the mass of land comes to acquire the name *medinī:*

> *sāgaraḥ sakalo vyāpataḥ tadā vai medasā tayoḥ ।*
> *medinīti tato jātaṁ nāma pṛthvyāḥ samantataḥ ।।*[6]

The story of Vṛtrāsura in the *Devibhāgavata* depicts him as the son of Tvaṣṭṛ who says that he would be known by the name Vṛtra because of his capacity of guarding against or protecting (People) from *vṛjina* (sin):

> *vṛjināt trātum adhunā yasmāc chakto 'si putraka ।*
> *tasmāt vṛtra iti khyātaṁ tava nāma bhaviṣyati ।।*[7]

The Purāṇa thus seems to derive *vṛtra* from √*vṛj* with the suffix *tra.*

Kakutstha came to be so called because in a battle he had stood at the hump of a bull

> *sthitaḥ kakudi yenāsya kakutsthaś tena cābhavat*[8]

Just as he was called Kakutstha on account of having stood on the hump of a bull, he was called Indravāhaka for using Indra as his vehicle. So was he called Purañjaya for his having conquered the city of the demons:

> *indro vāhaḥ kṛto yena tena nāmnendravāhakaḥ ।*
> *puraṁ jitaṁ tu daityānāṁ tenābhūc ca purañjayaḥ ।।*[9]

As is the case with the deity who is referred to by diverse names because of his great number of qualities, vide the *Nirukta: māhābhāgyād devatāyā eka atmā bahudhā stūyate*[10] so it is with human beings. They too came to be called by different names because of their varying circumstances and accomplishments. Thus Vyāsa is called Dvaipāyana because as an infant he was placed in a *dvīpa: dvīpe nyastas tayā bālas tena dvaipāyano 'bhavat.*[11]

The sage Gālava came to acquire that name because of his having been taken out by his mother, the wife of Viśvāmitra, for sale under the stress of famine with a rope tied round his neck:

*so 'bhavad gālavo nāma galabandhān mahātapāḥ*[12]

The first two syllables seem to have suggested here on account of the similarity of sound with *gala*, the derivation of the word from the same. With that it was not difficult to connect it with a myth. *Va* interchangeable with *ba,* once this derivation was decided upon, was taken to be remnant of *bandha, galabandha* > *gālava.*

Gaṅgā came to be known by the name of Viṣṇupadī because of its having flown out of the feet of Viṣṇu:

*nirgatā viṣṇupādābjāt tena viṣṇupadīti ca* [13]

In the Dakṣiṇa episode the word *dakṣiṇa* for the southern quarter is explained on the basis of the myth of its having come into being from the southern side of Lakṣmī:

*āvirbhūtā dakṣiṇāṁśāl lakṣmyāś ca tena dakṣiṇā*[14]

The names of the goddesses Ṣaṣṭhī, Maṅgalacaṇḍī, Manasā, etc. are explained as follows:

*dakṣā yā vartate caṇḍī kalyāṇesu ca maṅgalā ।*
*maṅgaleṣu ca yā dakṣā sā ca maṅgalacaṇḍikā ॥*

*pūjyā yā vartate caṇḍīmaṅgalo 'pi mahīsutaḥ ।*
*maṅgalābhīṣṭadevī yā sā ca saptadvīpadharāpatiḥ ॥*

*maṅgalo manuvaṁśyaś ca saptadvīpadharāpatiḥ ।*
*tasya pūjyābhīṣṭadevī tena maṅgalacaṇḍikā ॥*[15]

The above gives a threefold explanation of the name Maṅgalacaṇḍikā: One, who is expert and auspicious for good things or who is expert in good things. Two, Maṅgala is the son of the earth. Since she is his favourite deity, she is called Maṅgalacaṇḍikā. Three, Maṅgala was a king in the race of Manu. Since the goddess was adored and worshipped by him, she came to be called Maṅgalacaṇḍikā.

The goddess is called Manasādevī because she meditates on the Supreme Lord and shines in union with Him:

*manasā dhyāyate yā ca paramātmānam īśvaram* ı
*tena sā manasādevī tena yogena dīvyati* ıı[16]

She is called Ṣaṣṭhī because she represents in her the sixth portion of Prakṛti:

*ṣaṣṭyaṁśā prakṛter yā ca sā ca ṣaṣṭhi prakīrtitā* ı[17]

In the same strain as above is the derivation of the names of the goddesses Rādhā, Vāṇī, Sarasvatī, Bhrāmarī, etc. Rādhā is so called because she fulfils all desires:

*rādhnoti sakalān kāmān tasmād rādheti kirtitā* ıı[18]

She is called Vāṇī because she is the presiding deity of *vāṇī*, the speech:

*vāṇyadhiṣṭhātṛdevi sā tena vāṇī prakīritā* ı

She is called Sarasvatī because she belongs to Hari who is the possessor of lakes and is to be seen everywhere, in a lake, in an oblong tank and in channels:

*sarovāpyāṁ ca srotassu sarvatraiva hi dṛśyate* ı
*hariḥ sarasvān tasyeyaṁ tena nāmnā sarasvatī* ıı[19]

She is surrounded by *bhramras*, bees, so she is Bhrāmarī:

*bhramarair veṣṭitā yasmād bhrāmarī sā tataḥ smṛtā* ı[20]

The words *śakti* and *kṛṣṇa* have been explained with the ascription of a particular meaning to each of their syllables much in the Tantric way of the bījākṣaras:

*aiśvaryavacanaḥ śaś ca ktiḥ parākrama eva ca* ı
*tatsvarūpā tayor dātrī sā śaktiḥ prakīrtitā* ı[21]

*Śakti* has two components, *śa* and *kti*. *Śa* means *aiśvarya*, supremacy, might and *kti* means prowess. One who is of the form of both and one who bestows both is called Śakti.

Similarly *kṛṣṇa* has two components *kṛṣ* and *na* where both are capable of twofold interpretation. According to one interpretation *kṛṣ* means devotion and *na* means service to the Supreme Lord:

*sa cātmā sa paraṁ brahma kṛṣṇa ity abhidhīyate* ı
*kṛṣis tadbhaktivacano naś ca taddāsyavācakaḥ* ıı[22]

According to another interpretation *kṛṣ* means all and *na* means the seed. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, is one who is the seed (=source) of all (=everything):

> *kṛṣiś ca sarvavacano nakāro bījam eva ca* ।
> *sa kṛṣṇaḥ sarvasraṣṭādau sisṛkṣann eka eva ca* ॥[23]

If *i* in *kṛṣi* is taken to represent a root as in Pāṇini, then the derivation of *kṛṣṇa* would be *kṛṣi* + *na* which would turn into *kṛṣṇa* with the dropping of *i* and the cerebralization of *na* with the proximity of *ṣ*.

These are thus the etymologies in the *Devībhāgavata*, fanciful no doubt, but certainly quite ingenious and interesting.

## REFERENCES

1. 1.14.53. With single *t* it means 'one who purifies forefathers', etc. *punāti pitrādīn*. With doubt *tt* it is derived in many a work including the *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* from *Put*, a hell of that name and *tra*, vide the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 107, 12; *Mbh*. 1.74.37.
2. 3.1.144
3. 4.8.4. A meaning given of the word elsewhere is 'that which possesses or keeps grains etc. for sustenance', *gṛhṇāti dhānyādīn jīvanārtham*.
4. *Manusmṛti*, IX. 138.
5. 9.45.24. The *Mbh*. also derives it from √*bhṛ*: *bhāryāyā bharaṇād bhartā pālanāc ca patiḥ smṛtaḥ*.
6. 1.9.83-4.
7. 6.2.44.
8. 7.9.27.
9. 7.9.28.
10. VII, 1.4.
11. 2.2.4.
12. 7.140.42. According to the *Śabdakalpadruma* (*SKD*) the word is derived from the causal form of *gal* with *ghañ*, the meaning being 'one by whom ignorance is destroyed or dispelled': *gālyate jñānam anena*.
13. 9.14.20.
14. 9.45.73
15. 9.46.4.

16. 9.47.3-4.
17. 9.47.40.
18. 8.8.2.
19. 9.8.3.
20. 9.50.18. According to SKD the word means 'one who has bee-like complexion: *bhramarasyām iti bhrāmaraḥ, bhramaravad varṇaḥ,* so *'syāstiti*. There is reference to Bhrāmarī in the *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa* too where she speaks of her future incarnation wherein she would kill the demon Aruṇākṣa by assuming the form of countless bees, 91.47.49.
21. 10.13.99.
22. 9.2.10.
23. 9.24.26.

# 8

## Sanskrit Synonyms

The Sanskrit word for a synonym is *paryāyavacana* or more popularly simply *paryāya* which evidently is a shorter form for the earlier fuller expression. The synonyms are called *paryāyavacanas* for they denote the same meaning in rotation, one by one, *paryāya* literally meaning 'rotation': *paryāyeṇār-thaṁ bruvata iti paryāyāḥ*.

Whether two or more words can ever express one and the same meaning is very difficult to say. There is a school of thought that behind the apparent synonymity of words there lie some subtle shades of meaning which can be detected either by a critical study of the context in which they are used or by tracing the semantical history of the words or through the comments offered sometimes by the commentators or their etymological interpretations. In a current language the process of their detection is comparatively easy: the usage itself limiting the words in particular shades only. To explain the point we may take up an instance from the English language. It has a number of words such as ride, scale, climb, mount in the sense for which the Sanskrit word is *ārohaṇa*. Now every one of these denotes *ārohaṇa* but each one of these denotes *ārohaṇa* on a different object. The difference in the senses of these words, therefore, rests on the object of *ārohaṇa*. Riding is *ārohaṇa* on horse, climbing on a tree or a pole or a mountain etc., scaling on a mountain and so on. Each word we thus see has a specific association with an object and differs in sense only with reference to those objects only. The Mahābhāṣyakāra very vividly brings it out in his comment:

> *niyataviṣayāḥ śabdā dṛśyante. tad yathā — samāne rakte varṇe gaur lohita iti bhavaty aśvaḥ śoṇa iti.*

*samāne ca kāle varṇe gauḥ kṛṣṇa iti bhavaty aśvo hema iti. samāne ca śukle varṇe gauḥ śveta iti bhavaty aśvaḥ karka iti.*[1]

In classical languages like Sanskrit the minute difference in sense of the so-called synonyms has to be found out with some effort, for the source-material in their case is their old literature only. And there is difference evidently in literature and current speech. The difference in the sense-shades could apparently not be as manifest in literature as in current speech. And literature too cannot be taken in the process as one single entity. Its different layers represent the process of the change-over of the speech from current coin to conventionalized vehicle of expression, from the speech of the masses to that of the classes. Thus the earlier the layer of literature the more helpful it is for the process of divination of finer distinctions in the meaning of the so-called synonyms. It is the earlier Sanskrit literature that has the largest incidence of the juxtaposition of the synonyms, a sharp pointer to a period when the fine distinction in the senses of the words was still maintained and not forgotten as in later period. As a matter of fact, the basic factor leading to the development of synonymity in words is the disappearance in them of the finer shades of meaning over a period of time. It is the approximation in sense that leads to synonymity and the promiscuous use of the words. This is what Kṣīrasvāmin means when he offers the comment: *tamālapatrākṛti kastūryā lalāṭe tamālapatram, tilakākṛti tilakam, citrakaṁ nānāvarṇam, viśinaṣṭi viśeṣakam. itthaṁ tilakabhedā ete paryāyatvaṁ tv adūraviprakarṣāt,* on the Amara line: *tamālapatratilakacitrakāṇi viśeṣakam*[2], *tamālapatra* is a sign by musk on the forehead of the form of *tamālapatra*, *tilaka* is of the form of sesame seed, *citraka* is of many colours, *viśeṣaka* is a distinctive mark. Thus all these are different types of forehead-marks. Synonymity of them is due to the approximation of sense in them.

## Tendencies in Evolution of Synonymity

### 1. Words Originally in Relationship of Viśeṣaṇa and Viśeṣya

Old Sanskrit furnishes many examples of the words once

existing in the relationship of *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*, (an adjective and the word qualified by it) turning into perfect synonyms. The once *viśeṣaṇas* appropriate to themselves the sense of the *viśeṣyas* too and thus supplant them. A few of these are taken up below. It may incidentally be pointed out here that there is no fixity with regard to the character of the words in Sanskrit works. What serve as adjectives at one place serve as substantives in another. In the *Ṛgveda* instances quoted below the same *pṛthvī* or *pṛthivī* which is an adjective in *pṛthivī mahī*, *bhūmiṁ pṛthivīm* is substantive in *urvīṁ pṛthivīm*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* too *vihaṅgama*, a cognate of *vihaṅga* occurring as adjective in the verse quoted below is used as a substantive with *khecara*, the adjective: *vane vanecarāṁś cānyān khecarāṁś ca vihaṅgamān.*'[3]

**Adhvara, Pṛthiivī and Urvī**

Even in as early a work as the *Ṛgveda* we meet with such instances, e.g., *aśvaṁ na vājinam*[4], *urvīṁ pṛthivīṁ*[5], *pṛthivī mahī*[6], *bhūmiṁ pṛthivīm*[7], *yajñam adhvaram*[8], etc. One each in these *adhvara*, *pṛthiivī* and *urvī*, *adhvara* is an adjective to the other, *urvīṁ, pṛthivīm* or *pṛthivī mahī* meaning the vast earth, *yajñam adhvaram* meaning non-violent sacrifice.

**Palāśin, Śākhin, Viṭapin and Vṛkṣa**

In a *Mahābhārata* verse four words *palāśin*, *śākhin*, *viṭapin* and *vṛkṣa*, all signifying tree in later literature, are used side by side:

> *palāśinaṁ śākhinaṁ ca tathā viṭapinaṁ punaḥ* ।
> *taṁ dṛṣṭvā jīvitaṁ vṛkṣaṁ kāśyapena mahātmanā* ॥[9]

Of these the first three, *palāśin*, *śākhin* and *viṭapin* could be adjectives to *vṛkṣa* meaning thereby a tree with leaves, branches and twigs.

**Purandara and Śatakratu**

Ordinarily both of these mean Indra who comes to have various names on account of his greatness and a variety of

functions that he performs: *māhābhāgyāt karmapṛthaktvād vā*. When both of these mean Indra why should they then be used together?[10] This presupposes that one of them may be *śatakratu*, is an adjective to *purandara*, *śatakratu meaning* 'one (Indra) who is the performer of the hundred sacrifices'.

### Vāruṇī and Madirā

In the *Bhāgavata* verse we read *vāruṇīṁ madirāṁ pītvā*[11] Popularly *vāruṇī* and *madirā* are synonyms in the sense of wine. Here one of them, *vāruṇī*, occurs as an adjective to *madirā* which is a general term for wine. *Vāruṇī-madirā* means the wine prepared by *Varuṇa*, *Varuṇanirmitāṁ*, as Vijayadhvaja would have it or the wine obtained from the churning of the milk-ocean, *amṛtamathanāt udbhūtām* as Vallabhācārya would have it or the wine prepared from food, *annamayīm* as Śrīdhara would have it.

### Vāyu and Gandhavaha

Convention makes *gandhavaha* a synonym of *vāyu*. It does not require much of an ingenuity to see that one of these, evidently *gandhavaha*, is an adjective to *vāyu*. *Gandhavahavāyu* means the breeze carrying fragrance. In later literature one of these is used to signify breeze. *Gandhavaha* then may not be used in its derivative meaning but in earlier literature this is used in this meaning which is thought to be incomplete if the noun (in this case *vāyu*) is not used with it. Hence the juxtaposition of these in the *Bhāgavata*: *tatra vāyur gandhavahaḥ*.[12]

### Vidyut and Saudāmanī

Amara mentions both of them as synonyms: *taḍit saudāmanī vidyut*, but that they are not proved by their frequent juxtposition in the Epics and the Purāṇas. It appears that it had become a matter of habit with the authors of these works to couple them together. It is also interesting to note that the whole expression that we meet with in these works is *vidyut saudāmanī yathā*. This has become more or less a stereotyped phrase which is found as such in the *Bhāgavata* too:

> *kālaḥ prādurabhūt kāle vidyut saudāmanī yathā*।[13]
> *rañjayanti diśaḥ kāntyā vidyut saudāmanī yathā*॥[14]

Śrīdhara and Vīrarāghavācārya explain *saudāmanī* as the lightning which has its origin in the mount Sudāman. Now this is in perfect accord with the traditional interpretation of it. Pāṇini forms the word by his *sūtra tenaikadik* (IV. 3.112) which would give us the meaning of *saudāmanī* as *sudāmnā ekadik*, in the same direction as the mount Sudāman, which Viśvanātha Cakravartin describes as *sphaṭikamaya*, made up of crystals. When coupled *vidyut* and *saudāmanī* stand in the relationship of *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*, the lightning arising or appearing in the direction of the mount Sudāman.

Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, has given an altogether different meaning of *saudāmanī* occurring together with *vidyut* in the *Mahābhārata* verse:

> *tatra sma rājate bhaimī sarvābharaṇabhūṣitā*।
> *sakhīmadhye'navadyāṅgī vidyut saudāmanī yatha*॥[15]

It is in refreshing contrast with the traditional interpretation. *Saudāmanī*, according to him, means the lightning flashing forth from (lit. belonging to) the raining clouds: *saudāmanī prāvṛṣeṇyameghasambandhinī. suṣṭhu jagato jīvanaṁ dadati te sudāmāno meghāḥ, teṣāṁ samūhaḥ saudāmanaḥ, prāvṛṭkālas tatsambandhinī sā hy atyantaṁ dyotamānā bhavatīti prasiddham.* This interpretation appeals more to common sense.

**Vihaṅga and Pakṣin**

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* line: *tāṁ vinātha vihaṅgo'sau pakṣī praṇaditas tada*[16], *vihaṅga* and *pakṣin*, are juxtaposed. One of them, evidently, *vihaṅga*, meaning literally 'flying in the sky'[17], is an adjective here. *Pakṣin* with *vihaṅga* would mean 'a bird flying in the sky'. At another place in the same work a similar word, *khecara*, meaning the same as *vihaṅga* is used as an adjective to *pakṣin*: *siṁhavyāghravarāhāṇāṁ khecarāṇāṁ ca pakṣiṇām*.

## 2. Upamāna and Upameya

Sometimes words which originally stood in the relationship of *upamāna*, standard of comparison and *upameya*, the thing to be compared, turn into synonyms when the *upamānavācin* words among them appropriate to themselves the sense of the *upameyavācin* ones. This is best illustrated by the words *ghana* and *vaṁśa*. The former of these, *ghana*, occurs with *abhra*, in a number of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

i *vividhābhraghanāpannagocaraḥ*।[18]
ii *tam abhraghanasaṁkāśam āpatantaṁ mahākapim*।[19]
iii *tad balaṁ rākṣasendrāṇāṁ mahābhraghananāditam*।[20]

Literally *ghana* means something solid, vide, Pāṇini, *mūrtau ghanaḥ* (3.3.77). In expressions like *ghanaṁ dadhi* the *dharma*, the characteristic, is employed to denote the *dharmin*, the possessor of the characteristic, just as *dadhi*, etc., is said to be *ghana*, similarly the thick clouds are said to be *abhraghana*, the dissolution of the compound being *abhraṁ ghana iva* or *abhrasya ghano mūrtir iva*, the solid mass of clouds. In course of time *ghana* originally meaning something solid, a mass, came to acquire the sense of cloud itself.

As for *vaṁśa*, it primarily means bamboo. In the many instances in which it occurs together with *kula* in later literature: *kulavaṁśavaṁśah*, etc. it retains its characteristic of *upamānavācitva* with *kula*, the *upameya*. *Vaṁśa*, family, is so called because it is like *vaṁśa*, bamboo, *vaṁśa iva iti vaṁśaḥ*. Just as a bamboo tree, *vaṁśa*, never grows alone, it develops into a full cluster, so it is hoped would do *vaṁśa*, a family.

## 3. Sāmānya and Viśeṣa

Sometimes the words originally signified a general thing which was later particularized. The word *garutmat*, for instance, signifies a bird, in general, vide Amara, *nīḍodbhavā garutmantaḥ pitsanto nabhasaṅgamāḥ*[21], but later came to signify a particular bird, *garuḍa*, too.

Conversely the words which signified originally a particular thing came to acquire a general sense. The words *senā*, *pṛtanā*,

*vāhinī* etc., now all meaning army in general originally signified different formations of it of varied strength, as is clear from the *Mahābhārata* verse:

> *senā pañcaśataṁ nāgā rathās tāvanta eva ca* ।
> *daśa senā ca pṛtanā pṛtanā daśa vāhinī* ॥[22]

Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of it is:

> *seneti. tatra gajānāṁ rathānāṁ ca tulyasaṅkhyoktiḥ pūrvoktasaṅkhyopalakṣaṇārthā. tena pañcaviṁśatiśatāni manuṣyāh, pañcadaśaśataṁ turagā ity api jñeyam. pṛtanāyāṁ tu pañcasahasraṁ narā pañcadaśa sahasram aśvāḥ. vāhinyāṁ pañcāśatasahasraṁ nāgās tāvanto rathāḥ sārdhalakṣadvayaṁ narā sārtha (rdha?) lakṣam aśvā iti jñeyam.*

"Five hundred elephants, the same number of chariots, 2500 men and 1500 horses constitute the *Senā*. *Pṛtanā* has 5000 men and 15,000 horses. *Vāhinī* has 50,000 elephants, the same number of chariots, a quarter of a million of men and 50,000 horses."

Some synonyms originally stood in the relationship of *viśeṣya* and *sāmānya*, particular and general. Different aspects or types of a thing had a different word for them. But all these could be expressed through a common word too. Thus *krodha*, *droha*, *īrṣyā* and *asūyā* had a common word *kopa*. The Mahābhāṣyakāra's comment on Pāṇini *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṁ yaṁ prati kopaḥ* (1.4.37) brings it out very clearly and bears reproduction in full:

> *kim eta ekārthā āhosvin nānārthāḥ? kim cātaḥ? yady ekārthāḥ kimarthaṁ pṛthaṅ nirdiśyante. atha nānārthāḥ kathaṁ kupinā śakyante viśeṣayitum? evaṁ tarhi nānārthāḥ, kupau tv eṣāṁ sāmānyam asti. nahy akupitaḥ krudhyati, na vā 'kupito druhyati, na va 'kupita īrṣyati, na vā 'kupito 'sūyati.*[23]

For eating Sanskrit has words like *bhojana*, *khādana*, *bhakṣaṇa* etc. which represent its different types: *kharaviśadabhakṣaṇa* etc. which represent its different types: *kharaviśadasyārthasyābhyavaharaṇaṁ khādanam, dantavyāpārapūrvakaṁ nigaraṇam* etc., eating of a hard thing existing severally is

*khādana*, swallowing preceded by chewing is *bhakṣaṇa* and so on. All of these, however, have a common word which is *abhyavahāra*. Under Pāṇini *samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya* the *Kāśikā* gives the illustration: *odanaṁ bhuṅkṣva saktūn piba, dhānāḥ khādety evāyam abhyavaharati. abhyavaharati* is the *sāmānyavacana* here.

## How Things Differ from each other in Meaning

Up to now we have been dealing with the broad tendencies of development of synonymity in words. We now take up a few pairs of the so-called synonyms for finding precise distinction in their meanings on the basis of textual or commentarial evidence.

## Amarṣa and Kopa

This pair is found in the *Bhāgavata* in the verse *kopāmarṣaśucārpitaḥ*.[24] About *kopa* we come to know from Patañjali comment under Pāṇ. *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthārthānāṁ yaṁ prati kopaḥ* (I.4.37), as reproduced above, that it is something common to all these *krodha*, *droha* etc. which though distinct among themselves have their commonness in *kopa*: *kupau tv eṣāṁ sāmānyam asti*. To find out the exact signification of *kopa* we would better reproduce here the brilliant comment of Kaiyaṭa: *nanu kopaḥ krodha eveti bhedābhāvāt kathaṁ paurvāparyaṁ, evaṁ tarhi, prathamām anudbhūtāṁ kopāvasthāṁ dvitīyāṁ codbhūtāṁ vikṛtvākkāyavyāpārānumīyamānām āśritya etad uktam*. According to him *kopa* is the unmanifested anger while *krodha* is the manifested anger which can be inferred from the distorted speech, body and action. What follows from this is that *kopa* is an internal phenomenon while *krodha* is an outward manifestation of it. Amarṣa is explained in the next pair.

## Amarṣa and Roṣa

The *Rāmāyaṇa* text says, *amarṣaprabhavo roṣaḥ*.[25] *roṣa* results from *amarṣa*. *amarṣa*, as is clear from its formation is from √*mṛṣ* 'to tolerate' with the negative particle *nañ* compounded with it. It means 'intolerance' primarily. *roṣa* is from √*ruṣ* 'to injure',

'to harm' , *ruṣa riṣa hiṁsāyām*. It primarily means violence. Under the *Mālatīmādhava* line *yauvanārambhabharitadurviṣahāmarṣaroṣa* etc. the commentator Tripurāri explains these (*amarṣa* and *roṣa*) as intolerance and anger: *akṣamākrodhau* or long persisting anger and temporary anger: *yad vā sthirakrodhatātkālikakopau* respectively. This seems to be right in view of the popular saying: *krodhaḥ kṛtāparādheṣu sthiro'marṣatvam aśnute*. That *amarṣa* is *sthirakrodha* while *roṣa* is *tātkālikakopa* further gets an indirect support from the well-known saying: *kṣaṇe ruṣṭaḥ kṣaṇe tuṣṭaḥ* where *ruṣṭaḥ* is coupled with *kṣaṇe*, *roṣa* being *kṣaṇikakopa* or as said above, *tātkālikakopa*.

It is a pair which occurs most frequently in literature. In *Bhāgavata* it is found in the verses:

> *bhṛśaṁ amarṣaroṣāveśa...*[26]
> *ādideva upasaṁhṛtāmarṣaroṣāvego lokānāṁ svastaya āste*[27]
> *āhāmarṣaruṣāviṣṭaḥ kaṣāyībhūtalocanaḥ*[28]
> *namucis tadvadhaṁ dṛṣṭvā śokāmarṣaruṣānvitaḥ*[29]

The consensus among the commentators of the *Bhāgavata* where they occur together is that *amarṣa* is *asahana* 'intolerance', while *roṣa* is *krodha*, 'anger' or *vapuṣo dahanaṁ* or *vapuṣo dāhaḥ*, which means the heating up of the body or to put it differently 'flaring up'. Jīvagosvāmin's interpretation is different. *Amarṣa* he explains as *asahiṣṇutā*, 'intolerance' and *roṣa* as *tatdutthaḥ krodhaḥ*, the anger resulting from it. This sounds reasonable and inline with Vālmīki's statement reproduced above, *amarṣaprabhavo roṣaḥ*,[30] *roṣa* is what results from *amarṣa*. *Amarṣa*, therefore, is the *pūrvāvasthā*, first stage, of *roṣa* which from being derived from √*ruṣ* implies in it an element of causing injury (*hiṁsāyāṁ*). Śukadeva seems right in his comment: *aparādhāsahanam amarṣaḥ, aparādhidamanaceṣṭā roṣaḥ*.

By an analysis of what has been said above it comes out that the difference in the interpretation of the words as shown above is only superficial. Deeper there lies an agreement which can be discovered by a link up of the seemingly different viewpoints. Thus *amarṣa* is such an intolerance (*asahanam*) as may continue for a longer period, a simmering anger persisting for long

(*sthirakrodha*) during which one may go on thinking of the means by which to harm the enemy (*śatror apakāropāyacintanam*)[31] while *roṣa* is that upsurge of the emotion (*krodha*) which may so work up a man as to excite him to inflict an injury (*aparādhidamanaceṣṭā*) on the wrong-doer.

## Amātya and Mantrin

That these words have a clear difference in their meanings is shown by the commentators while offering their comment under the *Bhāgavata* verse:

*api dārāḥ prajāmātyāḥ bhṛtyāḥ śreṇyo 'tha mantriṇah.*[32]

Śrīdhara and Vīrarāghava explain *mantrin* as *mantrasahāya* counsellor and *amātya* as *karmasahāya*, administrator. Vijayadhvaja explains *mantrin* as *buddhisahāya* which is much the same as the *mantrasahāya* of the commentators referred to above. It seems the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have had this very sense of *mantrin* in his mind when he used it in connection with the counsel that Rāvaṇa had *(mantrayāmāsa)* with his ministers:

*tasya tac chāsanaṁ śrutvā mantriṇo 'bhyāgaman drutam।*
*tataś ca mantrayāmāsa rākṣasaiḥ sacivaiḥ saha*॥ [33]

The etymology of *mantrin* too suggests the predominance of the element of counsel in it: *mantrayata iti mantrī.*[34] Similarly the etymology of *amātya* suggests the predominance of the element of remaining together (*amā*=together) with the king for the discharge of the administrative duties. T. Ganapati Sastri is, therefore, very right when he interprets *amātya* as *karmasaciva*.

It is interesting to note that these words have been explained in two different ways by the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentator Rāma. At one place he gives the distinction in their meaning as: *amātyā deśādikāryanirvāhakāḥ, mantriṇo vyavahārādidraṣṭāraḥ*, which means *amātyas* are those who carry on the government while *mantrins* are those who look into matters judicial. At another place he assigns the meaning *upamantrin* to *amātya*, thereby implying that the *mantrins* were senior in rank to the *amātyas.*[35]

The above discussion would lead us to the following conclusion. The *amātyas* were the executive heads but junior in rank to the *mantrins* who provided counsel to the king and were also in charge of the administration of justice in the country.

## Anarthaka and Apārthaka

In the *Vimānasthāna*, Caraka enumerates the speech defects. Among them he mentions the two, *anarthaka* and *apārthaka*, and himself proceeds to explain the difference in them as: *anarthakaṁ nāma yad vacanam akṣaragrāmamātram eva syāt pañcavargavan nārthatayā gṛhyate, apārthakaṁ nāma yad arthavat paraspareṇa cāyujyamānārthakam. yathā... cakranakravaṁśavajraniśākarā iti.*[36] *anarthaka* is that speech which is a mere conglomeration of a number of vocables, it does not convey any meaning..., *apārthaka* is that speech which does have some meaning but which lacks coherence.

## Aśru and Bāṣpa

Both these mean tears. But they do have some distinction in them. *Bāṣpa* is *kaṇṭharodha*, choking in the throat, vide, the *Rāmāyaṇa* line: *bāṣiḥ pihitakaṇṭhaś ca prekṣya rāmaṁ yaśasvinam.*[37] *pihitakaṇṭhatva* or *kaṇṭharodha*, obstruction in throat, is described to have been caused by *bāṣpa*. In the *Śākuntala kaṇṭha*, throat, is said to be *stambhita*, choked, by *bāṣpa*: *kaṇṭhaḥ stambhitabāṣpavṛttikaluṣaḥ.*[38] Rāghavabhaṭṭa explains *bāṣpa* as the first stage of the tears: *aśruṇaḥ pūrvāvasthā bāṣpam*. It is interesting that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself this fine distinction in *aśru* and *bāṣpa* seems to have got blurred and *bāṣpa* came to be used even for tears, e.g.,

> *kausalyā vyasṛjad bāṣpaṁ praṇālīva navodakam*।[39]
> *bāṣpaprasravaṇair mukhaiḥ*।[40]

## Atithi and Abhyāgata

These words occur in the *Bhāgavata* prose passage: *yas tviha atithīn abhyāgatān vā.*[41] Vīrarāghava, Viśvanātha and Śukadeva point out that *atithis* are those guests who are unknown while

*abhyāgatas* are those who are known: *atithayo 'jñātapūrvāḥ abhyāgatā jñātapūrvāḥ*.

## Bandhu and Jñāti

These are juxtaposed in the *Bhāgavata* verses: *bandhujñātyarimadhyasthamitrodāsīnavidviṣaḥ*[42] and *na jñātibandhur na paro na ca svaḥ*.[43] Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin differentiate between them thus: *bandhavaḥ vivāhādibhiḥ sambandhinaḥ, jñātayaḥ sapiṇḍāḥ, bandhus* are those who become relatives due to marriage[44] while *jñātis* are those who are *sapiṇḍas*. According to Kullūka *jñātis* are relations on the paternal side: *jñātayaḥ pitṛpakṣāḥ bāndhavās* (the same as *bandhus*), according to him, are relations on the maternal side: *bāndhavāḥ mātṛpakṣāḥ*. It may be noted here that Kullūka is reproducing in his own words what the earlier commentator Medhātithi[45] wrote. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Commentator Rāma[46] *jñātis* are the relations such as brothers and the like: *jñātayaḥ bhrātrādayaḥ* which would imply their relationship on the paternal side. According to Vāmaṇa, the co-author of the *Kāśikā*, *jñātis* are the relations on the maternal and as well as the paternal side: *jñātayaḥ mātṛpitṛsambandhino bāndhavāḥ*. It appears strange as to how Vāmana could extend the meaning of *jñāti* to the relationship on the maternal side as well though the tradition would restrict it to the paternal side only. The meaning of *jñāti* given by Kullūka, viz., *bhrātrādayaḥ* seems nearer the truth. The usage appears to uphold it. In the *Mahābhārata* there is a mention of a type of son called *sajñātiretāḥ*.[47] Under this we have the following illuminating comment of Nīlakaṇṭha: *jñātiretā vyavahitabhrātrādeḥ putraḥ, sarveṣām ekaputrāṇāṁ yady ekopi bhavet sutaḥ*, etc.

Again in the *Rāmāyaṇa* there occurs the word *jñāti* in a verse uttered by Rāvaṇa:

> *jānāmi śīlaṁ jñātīnāṁ sarvalokeṣu rākṣasa।*
> *hṛṣyanti vyasaneṣv etc jñātīnāṁ jñātayaḥ sadā॥*[48]

Now it is to be remembered here that Rāvaṇa is directing these words against Vibhīṣaṇa, his brother. The context in which

this word occurs would leave no room for doubt that it means brothers etc., *bhrātrādayaḥ*, the meaning assigned to it by Kullūka.

## Dhvaja and Patākā

These are found juxtaposed in the *Bhāgavata* verses:

*citradhvajapatākāgrair antaḥpratihatātapam*।[49]
*caityadhvajapatākābhir yuktaḥ vidrumavedibhiḥ*॥[50]

Śrīdhara explains them as: *garuḍādicihnāṅkitā dhvajāḥ, jayapradayantrāṅkitāḥ patākāḥ*, *dhvajas* are the ones with some emblem of *garuḍa* etc. on them while *patākās* are the ones which carry on them some *yantra* ( a mystical astronomical diagram) for victory. While explaining the second verse quoted above, he dissolves the compound *dhvajapatākābhiḥ* as *dhvajeṣu patākās tābhiḥ* which implies that the *patākās* must have been planted on the *dhvajas*. It is interesting to note that the words occur together in a number of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* too. There the commentator Rāma offers different comments under two different verses. Thus under *pāṇḍurābhiḥ patākābhiḥ dhvajaiś ca samalaṁkṛtām*,[51] he explains *patākās* as *sūkṣmadhvajāḥ*, small flags, thereby implying that *dhvajas* are the bigger flags. Under *dhvajāḥ samucchritāḥ sādhu patākāś cābhavaṅs tathā*,[52] he explains *patākās* as *cihnarahitāḥ*, the ones without any emblem. He seems to be relying on some older tradition for he concludes his remarks by saying *ity āhuḥ*. Now this view is clearly opposed to the one of Śrīdhara according to whom *patākās* too have a *yantra* embossed on them and can, therefore, not be *cihnarahitāḥ*, without any mark or emblem. It is difficult to say as to which of the two viewpoints is correct and represents the genuine tradition. But in this there may be truth that *dhvajas* were bigger in size as compared to the *patākās*.

## Dīpti, Kānti and Dyuti

These all means lustre but each one of them is restricted by usage for the lustre of a different object. In the *Mahābhārata* these

are used with reference to three different objects, each going with one, according to the figure of speech *yathāsaṅkhya*: *dīptikāntidyutiguṇaiḥ sūryendujvalanopamaḥ*.[53] *Dīpti* goes with *sūrya*, *kānti* with *indu* and *dyuti* with *jvalane*, i.e. the lustre of the sun is *dīpti*, that of the moon is *kānti* and that of the fire is *dyuti*. Elsewhere too in the same work we have the same specification: *ubhau candrārkasadṛśau kāntyā dīptyā ca bhārata*.[54] The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, goes slightly different. It mentions *dyuti* as that of *divākara*; the sun; e.g., *kāntiśrīdyutibhis tulyam indupadmadivākaraiḥ*.[55]

## Hasta and Pāṇi

With regard to these, there is difference in meaning. *Hasta* originally meant the fore-arms which is borne out by the use of it as a measurement of length signifying *aṅgulas* or two *vitastis*. *Pāṇi*, however, is that part of the *hasta* which begins with the wrist (*maṇibandha*) and ends with the fingers, cf. Sāyaṇa's comment: *maṇibandhād ūrdhvabāhuḥ pāṇiḥ* under the *Ṛgveda* verse: *tāv aśvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī*.[56]

## Keyūra and Aṅgada

*Amarakoṣa* mentions *keyūra* and *aṅgada* as synonyms: *keyūram aṅgadaṃ tulye*. But their juxtaposition in a number of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* would preclude such a possibility. The verses where they occur are:

> *jātarūpamayair mukhyair aṅgadaiḥ kuṇḍalaiḥ śubhaiḥ* ।
> *sahemasūtrair maṇibhiḥ keyūrair valayair api* ॥[57]
>
> *aṅgadāni ca citrāṇi keyūrāṇi śubhāni ca*[58]
>
> *keyūrāṅgadavaidūrya*...[59]
>
> *aṅgadaiḥ pārihāryaiś ca keyūraiś ca vibhūṣitān*.[60]

The distinction in their meaning is brought out by the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators Rāma, Govindarāja and Maheśvaratīrtha in the following words:

> *aṅgadam bāhumūladhāryaṁ bhūṣaṇam, keyūraṁ tadadhobhāgastham; aṅgadaiḥ kūrparoparidhāryair*

*bāhubhūṣaṇaiḥ, keyūrair bhujaśirovyāpiphaṇākāraśikharayuktabāhubhūṣaṇaiḥ; aṅgadaṁ ūrdhvākāraṁ patralatācitritaṁ bāhumūladhāryaṁ bhūṣaṇaṁ, keyūraṁ tasyādhobhāge dhāryaṁ valayākāraṁ bhūṣaṇam*

respectively. The commentators differ only in peripheral details. In essentials they are saying one and the same thing.

## Kledana and Undana

Pāṇinīya *Dhātupāṭha* reads: *ñiundī kledane*. This shows that both *undana* and *kledana* are synonyms. Yet the *Bhāgavata* juxtaposes them in the verses: *kledanaṁ piṇḍanaṁ tṛptiḥ prāṇanāpyāyanondanam.*[61]

There is a difference of opinions among the commentators with regard to the precise signification of these words. Śrīdhara, Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Śukadeva explain *kledana* as *ārdrīkaraṇa* to make wet and *undana* as *mṛdūkaraṇa*, to make soft. Vijayadhvaja and Vallabhācārya explain *undana* as *bindubhāva*, to turn into drops and *preraṇa*, to push, respectively, which have little to appeal. They, however, find themselves in company with the above mentioned three commentators so far as the meaning of *kledana* is concerned.

## Latā, Vallī and Vīrudh

Under the *Mahābhārata* verses:

> *latāvallīś ca vegena vikarṣan pāṇḍunandanaḥ.*[62]
> *vṛkṣagulmalatāvallyas tvaksārās tṛṇajātayaḥ.*[63]

Nīlakaṇṭha offers diametrically opposite comments. Under the first verse he says *latā bhūcarā, vallī vṛkṣacarā. Latā* moves on the ground, *vallī* on the tree. Under the second verse he says: *latā vṛkṣādyārūḍhā gudūcyādayaḥ, vallyo bhūmiprasārā varṣamātrasthāyinyaḥ kūṣmāṇḍādyāḥ, latā-s* hang on the trees etc. like *gudūcī* and so on while *vallī-s* such as *kūṣmāṇḍa* etc. spread on the ground, and stay there for a year. Under another verse *vallīlatāsaṅkaṭeṣu kuṭajeṣu sthitāṁs tathā*[64] he offers an altogether different interpretation: *vallīnāṁ latāpratānāni* which does not

make much sense. It seems he is confused here. A closer look at the *Mahābhārata* text itself would have revealed to him the distinction in the meaning of the words. The *Mahābhārata* says:

> *latādharmā dhārtarāṣṭrāḥ śālāḥ sañjaya pāṇḍavāḥ।*
> *na latā vardhate jātu anāśritya mahādrumam॥*[65]
> *vallī valayate vṛkṣaṃ sarvataś cāpi gacchati।*

*Latā-s* hang on the trees. So do the *vallī-s* with this difference that they, in addition, coil round them. The *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators Rāma and Satyatīrtha are right when they explain *vallī-s* as *vṛkṣādyāśritāḥ* and *vṛkṣāliṅgitāḥ* respectively. They explain *vīrudh-s* as *bhūmyādhārāḥ* and *sthalalatāḥ*, the creepers on the ground. Kṣīrayāmin explains *vallī* as *valate veṣṭate vallī, guḍūcī, guḍūcyādir mādhavyādiś ca* which is in line with what has been said above. *mādhavīs* etc. are the creepers which hang on the trees and coil round them.

## Latā and Vīrudh

The *Amarakoṣa* itself distinguishes between these words when it says *vallī tu vratatir latā pratāninī vīrudh gulminī. Vallī, vratati* and *latā* are synonyms but *vīrudh, pratāninī* and *gulminī* too are synonyms.

Now *latā* second time occurs in the company of *pratāninī* and *gulminī*, the descriptive words, which would no doubt determine its character. *Vīrudh*, therefore, would be that *latā* which would spread far (*pratāninī*) and which would look like a shrub, *gulminī*. This is in effect what Kātya, an old lexicographer quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin, says: *pratānaśatagāminī*. Now it may be remarked here that the difference between the two is not based solely on the fact that one (*vīrudh*) is more spread out (*pratāninī*) than the other *(latā)*. While commenting on these words occurring together in the *Bhāgavata* verse: *vanaspatyoṣadhilatātvaksārā vīrudho drumāḥ*[66] Śrīdhara says: *latā ārohaṇāpekṣāḥ*, *latās* are those which need hanging on to (trees), *vīrudhaḥ kāṭhinyenāro-haṇānapekṣāḥ, virudhs* are those which scarcely need hanging on (to trees). Vīrarāghara and *Vijayadhvaja*, however, explain *latā*

as *ārohaṇāpekṣāḥ* and *parāśrayabalāḥ* respectively and are in agreement with Śrīdhara in substance. Because they *are parāśrayabalāḥ*, they need some support, they are *ārohaṇāpekṣāḥ*, they need hanging on to (trees). It is interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata* too says, very much the same thing: *latādharmā dhārtarāṣṭrāḥ śālāḥ sañjaya pāṇḍavāḥ, na latā vardhate jātu anāśritya mahādrumam.*[67] The *latās* do never grow without the support of the great trees.

Now we come to *vīrudh*. It is with regard to it that Vīrarāghava and Vijayadhvaja offer different comments. They explain them (*vīrudhs*) as *gulmarūpāḥ* and *kāṇḍaruhāṇi gulmāni* respectively which mean that according to them *vīrudhs* are nothing but clusters of creepers growing on reeds. This is altogether a new interpretation. A similar new interpretation we find in the *Tilaka*, a comment on the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[68] too. There while pointing out the difference between *vallī* and *vīrudh* the words juxtaposed in the text it says: *vīrudho bhūmyādhārāḥ*, *vīrudhs* are those which spread on the ground. Kṣīrasvāmin while commenting on this word quotes an old lexicographer Kātya, according to whom *vīrudh* is a creeper with its leaves intertwined with each other and spreading with hundreds of tendrils: *vīrut suparṇajaṭilā pratānaśatagāminī*. It is just possible that these comments which now look different may be representing in them the different facets of one and the same thing. *Vīrudhs* may be those creepers which may easily hang on trees, grow in clusters and spread with hundreds of tendrils.

## Madhyastha and Udāsīna

These are juxtaposed in the *Bhāgavata* verse:

*bandhujñātyarimadhyasthamitrodāsīnavidviṣaḥ.*[69]

They are generally rendered as indifferent and are regarded as synonyms. Their juxtaposition in the above verse prompts the commentators to make attempts to distinguish between them. Thus according to Śrīdara *madhyasthas* are those who are other than friends or foes: *ubhayavyatiriktāḥ, vidviṣo dravyādinimittena*

*dveṣiṇaḥ, vidviṣs* are those who are inimical due to monetary considerations, *udāsīnās tadvyatiriktāḥ, udāsīnas* are those who are other than them. According to Viśvanātha Cakravartin *madhyasthas* are those who are friendly outwardly but inimical inwardly: *madhyasthā bahirantar maitrīvairavantaḥ, udāsīnas* are those who are devoid of both friendship and enmity: *maitrīvaira-śūnyāḥ*.

## Maru and Dhanvan

Amara reads: *samānau marudhanvānau, maru* and *dhanvan* have the same meaning. The author of the *Bhāgavata*, however, seems to distinguish between them. That is why he uses them together in the verse:

> *marudhanvam atikramya sauvīrābhīrayoḥ parān I*
> *ānartān bhārgavopāgāc chrāntavāho manāg vibhuḥ II*[70]

Śrīdhara brings out the distinction in their meanings in these words: *marur nirudakadeśaḥ, maru* is a land without water, *dhanvo'lpodakaḥ, dhanvan* is a land with scarcity of water. Vallabhācārya, however, gives exactly the contrary meanings. According to him *maru* is a land with scarcity of water: *marur alpodakadeśaḥ*, while *dhanvan* is a land with no water, *dhanvo nirudakadeśaḥ*.

It appears out of these interpretations it is the one by Śrīdhara which is nearer the truth for it has for its support the comment of Nīlakaṇṭha too. Under the *Mahābhārata* verse:

> *tataḥ sarasvatīkūle sameṣu marudhanvasu I*
> *kāmyakaṁ nāma dadṛśur vanaṁ munijanapriyam II* [71]

i.e. He (Nīlakaṇṭha) interprets *maru* as a land without water: *maruṣu nirjaladeśeṣu* and *dhanvan* as the arid lands (which are by their very nature *alpodakas*): *dhanvasu jāṅgaladeśeṣu*. Under another verse *mṛgān vidhyan varāhāṁś ca ramyeṣu marudhanvasu*[72] he interprets *dhanvan* as *alpajalapradeśa* which is the same as *alpodaka (deśa)* of Śrīdhara: *marur nirudakadeśaḥ, dhanvo'lpodakaḥ*. Now for *maru* both the commentators are agreed. About *dhanvan* there seems some difference. While according to one it is *jāṅgaladeśa*, arid land, according to the

other it is one with little water: *alpodako deśaḥ*. The difference, however, is superficial. *alpodakatva* is one of the special features of *jāṅgaldeśa* which is explained by Caraka as:

*alpodakadrumo yas tu pravātaḥ pracurātapaḥ*
*jñeyaḥ sa jāṅgalo deśaḥ svalparogatamo'pi ca.*[73]

## Matsara (or Mātsarya) Īrṣyā and Asūyā

In the following two verses of the *Bhāgavata* the pairs of *mātsarya* and *īrṣyā-asūyā* and *matsara* and *asūyā* are found juxtaposed:

*mātsaryerṣyāvamāna*[74]
*māno 'vamāno 'sūyā ca māyā hiṁsā ca matsaraḥ.*[75]

Under first quotation the commentators have offered no comment while under second it is only Vīrarāghavācārya who has attempted a comment. Thus about *asūyā* he says: *asūyā guṇeṣv api doṣāviṣkāraḥ*, *asūyā* is to look for faults even in good points. About *matsara* he says: *matsaraḥ parakṛtadrohacintā*, *matsara* is the anxiety caused by somebody else's enmity. About *īrṣyā* we have to depend upon other sources like Nīlakaṇṭha's comment on the *Mahābhārata* verse: *īrṣyā jugupsā ca manuṣyadoṣāḥ varjyāḥ sadā*,[76] *īrṣyā prakarṣāsahiṣṇutvam*, to be intolerant of somebody else's rise and the comment of Kaiyaṭa on the *Mahābhāṣya*, under Pāṇ. *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṁ yaṁ pratikopaḥ* (1.4.37) such as *paraguṇāsahanam*, intolerance towards others' virtues, which is the meaning assigned to *matsara* (*paraguṇāsahiṣṇutvam*) by Nīlakaṇṭha. *Asūyā* is explained by Kaiyaṭa as: *paraguṇavidhvaṁsanam*, 'to decry others' qualities'. Vāmana (the joint author of the *Kāśikā*), however, explains *asūyā* (under the very *sūtra* quoted above) as *guṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaraṇam* which is the same as *guṇeṣu satsv api doṣāviṣkāraḥ* of Vīrarāghavācārya quoted above and *paraguṇeṣu doṣāropaḥ*, *paraguṇeṣu doṣadarśanam* and *paraguṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaraṇam* of Nīlakaṇṭha under the *Mahābhārata* verses:

*anasūyur anupraṣṭā satkṛtas te purohitaḥ।*[77]
*kṛpāsūye mānaśokau spṛhā ca।*

*īrṣyā jugupsā ca manuṣyadoṣāḥ* [78]
*amātsaryaṁ hrīs titīkṣā'nasūyā* [79]

*Īrṣyā* is explained by Vāmana and Bhaṭṭoji both as *akṣamā*, intolerance, which is much the same as *parotkarṣāsahiṣṇutvam* of Nīlakaṇṭha and *paraguṇāsahanam* of Kaiyaṭa. Now about *īrṣyā* and *asūyā* there is a near unanimity of approach on the part of the commentators who put us wise on them. It is about *matsara* that the difference is found between Vīrarāghavācārya and Nīlakaṇṭha. Between these two it appears the former is more reasonable for the meaning of *matsara* as given by the latter is assigned to *īrṣyā* by more than one commentator.

## Nada and Nadī

This pair is found in the *Bhāgavata* verse: *nadā nadyaś ca santy asaṅkhyātāḥ*.[80] Under this Vīrarāghava's comment is that *nadas* are those that generally flow to the west. By implication it would appear that *nadīs* are those that flow to the directions other than the west, say the east. This interpretation is in consonance with the one given by Kataka under a *Rāmāyaṇa* verse,[81] viz., *paścimapravāhā nadāḥ*. The same view is held by Mallinātha too who while commenting upon a *Śiśupālavadha* verse[82] reproduces the age-old accepted view in the following words: *prāksrotaso nadyaḥ, pratyaksrotaso nadāḥ, Narmadāṁ vinetyāhuḥ*. the only discordant note here is struck by Rāma who while commenting upon a *Rāmāyaṇa* verse gives altogether a different meaning of *nada*. He takes it to be a rivulet, *nārā* as he calls it: *nārā iti lokaprasiddham*. But then we don't have any other authority to support such an interpretation. In view of the overwhelming evidence cited above little reliance can be placed on it, more so, when we have a verse from such a work as the *Mahābhārata* which goes to support the former view. This verse occurs in the context of the description of the many unnatural things that are said to have taken place when Kṛṣṇa left for Duryodhana's camp to sue for peace on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas. It is said there that the great *nadīs* (*mahānadyaḥ*) though facing the east began to flow to the west: *pratyag ūhur mahānadyaḥ prāṇmukhāḥ*

*sindhusattamāḥ.*[83] This gives us the very valuable clue: the natural flow of the *nadīs* is to the east, they are *prāksrotasas*. When a part of the interpretation of Mallinātha is upheld by usage it would stand to reason that the other part, viz., *pratyaksrotaso nadāḥ*, the *nadas* flow to the west, too would be in accordance with it.

## Nyāsa and Nikṣepa

They occur together in the *Kāmasūtra* which reads: *prasṛte ca paricaye tasyā haste nyāsaṁ nikṣepaṁ ca nidadhyāt.*[84] The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* explains them as *nyāsāḥ sthāpyāś cirakālagrāhyāḥ nikṣepo 'lpakālagrāhyaḥ*, and so *nyāsas* and *nikṣepas* are long-term and short-term deposits respectively.

## Sikatā, Śarkarā and Vālukā

These are used rather promiscuously in Sanskrit. Under the *Mahābhārata* verse *būmipāṣāṇasikatāśarkarāvālukābhasma-śāyinaḥ*[85] where they occur together. Nīlakaṇṭha brings out the dfifference in them as *sikatāḥ sūkṣmapāṣāṇapāṁsavaḥ, śārkarā karkarasahitā mṛt, vālukā laghūpalamiśrāḥ sikatā eva*, *sikatā* is minute stony particles, *śarkarā* is gravel, *vālukā* is nothing but *sikatā* mixed with pebbles.

## Suhṛd, Sakhā and Mitra

The following are the *Bhāgavata* verses where any two of these so-called synonyms are found to occur together:

(*i*) *yaṁ manyase mātuleyaṁ priyaṁ mitraṁ suhṛttamam*[86]
(*ii*) *sakhyaṁ maitrīṁ sauhṛdaṁ ca*[87]
(*iii*) *Dvaipāyanasuhṛtsakhā*[88]
(*iv*) *viśvasuhṛtsakhasya*[89]
(*v*) *tasyaiva me sauhṛdasakhyamaitrī*
*dāsyaṁ punar janmani janmani syāt*[90]

Under (*i*) Śrīdhara's comment is: *mitraṁ prītikartāram, suhṛttamam upakārān anapekṣyopakārakam*, *mitra* is one who provides happiness, *suhṛd* is one who does good to others without expecting anything in return. Under (ii) we have varying comments of commentators like Śrīdhara, Vīrarāghava,

Vallabhācārya, Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Śukadeva.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Śrīdhara | : | *sakhyaṁ hitaiṣitvam, maitrīm upakāritām* |
| Vīrarāghava | : | *sauhṛdaṁ hitaiṣitvam, mitratvam priyaiṣitā, samaśīlatvaṁ sakhitvam.* |
| Vallabhācārya | : | *samaśīlavyasanatvaṁ sakhyam, guhyagopanaguṇaprakaṭīkaraṇāpadgatātyāgādidharmavatvaṁ maitrī.* |
| V. Cakravartin | : | *premṇā parasparaprāṇatvaṁ (parasparahitaiṣitvam) sakhyam, dāsyamiśraṁ sakhyam sauhṛdaṁ maitrīṁ vātsalyamiśraṁ sakhyaṁ.* |
| Śukadeva | : | *sakhyaṁ samānaśīlatvam, maitrīm upakāritve sati pratyupakārānapekṣā sauhṛdaṁ hitaiṣitvam.* |

Under the commentators offer the following comments:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Śrīdhara | : | *saudhṛdaṁ prema, sakhyaṁ hitāśaṁsanam, maitrīm upakārakatvam.* |
| V.Cakravartin | : | *sauhṛdaṁ snehaḥ, sakhyaṁ sahāvasthāyitvamayaḥ praṇayaḥ, maitrī bandhubhāvaḥ.* |

It is worthwhile now to compare the meanings of the words given by the commentators removing the twist in them due to the secondary suffixes.

Three of the commentators interpret *sakhā* as *samaśīla* or *samānaśīlavyasana* and in this they are most probably guided by the well-known old line: *samānaśīlavyasaneṣu sakhyam*. Two of them interpret it as *hitaiṣī*.

Two commentators interpret *suhṛd* as *hitaiṣī* while the other two as *premī* or *snehī*. All these comments are very general ones and can fit in anywhere.

Three commentators interpret *mitra* as *upakāraka*, one of whom also qualifies him as *pratyupakārānapekṣa*. One interprets it as *bandhu* which again is a very general comment. One adopts the descriptive method in explaining it: *guhyagopana* etc. as given above. This too preserves in it the element of *upakārakatva*.

With all this variety of interpretations available in the *Bhāgavata* commentaries it is very difficult to arrive at any agreed

conclusion. The confusion is not typical of the *Bhāgavata* commentators. It is found elsewhere too. Thus while the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentator Rāma[91] interprets *suhṛd* as *upakriyāmūlasakhā*, one whose friendship is based on a past favour, the *Mahābhārata* commentator Nīlakaṇṭha[92] interprets it as *pratyupakāram anapekṣyopakārakartā*. This is the same as given by Śrīdhara under verse (i) quoted above. About *mitra* Nīlakaṇṭha's comment is that he is one who does good expecting a return: *pratyupakāram apekṣyopakārakartāram*, the reverse of the meaning assigned by Śukadeva to *suhṛd*. Because Nīlakaṇṭha's and Śrīdhara's comments about *suhṛd* tally it would be worth considereing as to how far Śukadeva is correct. The words *suhṛ* etc. are found described in a popular verse too which for proper appreciation requires reproduction here:

> *atyāgasahano bandhuḥ sadaivānugataḥ suhṛt।*
> *ekakriyaṁ bhaven mitraṁ samaprāṇaḥ sakhā mataḥ॥*

### Tarjana and Bhartsana

The *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini reads *tarja bhartsa bhartsane* thereby implying their synonymity. But their juxtaposition in the *Rāmāyaṇa* verses:

> *bhartsitāṁ tarjitāṁ vā 'pi nānumaṁsyati rāghavaḥ।*[93]
> *tarjāpayati māṁ nityaṁ bhartsāpayati cāsakṛt ॥*[94]

would preclude it. The distinction in their senses is very well brought out by Rāma, the commentator, who says: *avācikī bhīṣikā tarjanaṁ, vācikī tu sā bhartsanam iti*; *bhartsana* is threatening by words, *tarjana* is threatening by bodily movements. Literature also corroborates this. We have in the *Śākuntala*: *sakhīm aṅgulyā tarjayati* where threatening is by a finger, certainly a *kāyikī bhīṣikā*. Amara explains *bhartsana* as the threatening words: *bhartsanaṁ tv apakāragīḥ*[95] which evidently is *vācikī bhīṣikā*.

### Udyāna, Upavana and Ārāma

Lexicons list all of them as synonyms having the sense of a garden. They, however, occur together in the *Bhāgavata* verse:

*udyānopavanārāmair vṛtapadmākaraśriyam.*[96] Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin explain them in the following words, *udyānaṁ phalapradhānam, upavanaṁ puṣpapradhānam, ārāmaḥ krīḍārthaṁ vanam, udyāna* is a garden with more of fruits, *upavana* is a garden with more of flowers, *ārāma* is a garden meant for play. The only difference in Vallabhācārya's comment on these words is that it reverses the order of the interpretations of *udyāna* and *upavana* as given by Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha. According to Vallabhācārya *udyāna* is *puṣpapradhānavāṭikā*, a garden with more of flowers and *upavana* is *phalapradhānam* (a garden) with more of fruits. About *ārāma* he is in agreement with Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha. Vīrarāghava and Vijayadhvaja offer different interpretations of these words. Vīrarāghava explains *udyāna* as *rājñāṁ krīḍāsthānam*, a pleasure grove for the kings. *Upavana* he explains as *vanasamīpastha*, a garden in the vicinity of a forest, an explanation evidently inspired by the very primary meaning of the word (*up* =near, *vana*=forest). *Ārāma* he explains as *kṛtaka*, a garden which is laid out (not natural). Vijayadhvaja explains *udyāna* as a pleasure garden for the kings where they can play with ladies etc; *pramadādibhiḥ saha rājñāṁ krīḍābhūmibhiḥ*, *upavana* as the grove of trees not very far from the city: *upavanair nagarānatidūre āropitavṛkṣasamudāyaiḥ*, *ārāma* as the grove of trees planted on both sides of road outside a city: *ārāmaih purād bahiḥ rathyobhayapārśve ropitavṛkśa-samudāyaiḥ*.

We have taken only a few of the synonyms in this paper by way of specimen. There are a lot more which can be given similar treatment. As a matter of fact, the material available is sufficient to fill a reasonably sized monograph. The divination of the distinction in meanings in well established synonyms has its own joy. This humble investigator has been prompted in presenting this paper to share this joy with the distinguished readers.

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1. 1.4.37.
2. 2.6.123.

3. IV.13.12
4. 1.29.2.
5. VII.38.2.
6. X.60.9.
7. V.85.4.
8. I.1.4.
9. Āstīkaparvan, 43.10-11.
10. IV.16.24
11. 1.15.23
12. II.10.20
13. 1.6.28
14. VIII.8.8
15. Vanaparvan, 53.12
16. IV.1.55
17. This is not a conjecture. The word has been actually used in this sense in *Mahābhārata* verse: *prabhuḥ saṅkalpasiddho'smi kāmarūpī vihaṅgamaḥ* (Udyogaparvaṇ, 193.4). Nīlakaṇṭha explains *vigaṅgamaḥ as* 'flying in' or 'moving through the sky': *vihaṅgama ākāśagāmī*.
18. V.57.9.
19. V.57.28.
20. VII. 6. 61.
21. II.5.35.
22. Udyogaparvan, 152.21 (Citraşala Press Edition).
23. Incidentally it would be interesting to mention the precise distinction between *kopa* and *krodha*. While *kopa* is an internal phenomenon: *āntaro dharmaḥ*, *krodha* is its outward manifestation in the form of distorted movement of limbs and ugly speech: *vikṛta-vākkāya-vyāpārānumīyamānaḥ* or in the words of Nīlakaṇṭha the condition of being distraught in mind: *krodho vikṣiptacittatā*.
24. IV.10.4
25. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V.62.33.
26. V. 9.18.
27. V. 25.6.
28. VII. 5.34.
29. VIII. 11.29.
30. V. 62.33.
31. This is the meaning of *amarṣa* given by Nīlakaṇṭha under the *Mahābhārata* verse *dākṣyaṁ hy amarṣaḥ*...., Vanaparvan, 29.20

32. VI.14.19
33. VI.31.4
34. These *mantrins* formed a smaller body, the Inner Body. It was with them that the king constantly conferred. In this character the *mantrins* mean those vested with *mantra* or the policy of state as is evident from the expressions *mantradharas* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 100.60) and *mantragrāhas* in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 83.50) K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 1955, p. 286.
35. In the light of these comments it appears strange as to how the learned K.P. Jayaswal permitted himself the remark that in the *Rāmāyaṇa amātya* occurs in the general sense while *sacivas* are distinguished from the *mantrins*. K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 1955, p. 28.
36. *Caraka Saṁhita*, Adhyāya,146.40.
37. I.48.3.
38. IV.60.
39. II.62.10.
40. VI.108.25.
41. V. 26.35.
42. VI. 16.5.
43. VI. 17.22.
44. *Manusmṛti* IV. 179.
45. ibid
46. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 53.4.
47. Ādiparvan, 120.34.
48. VI. 16.3.
49. I. 11.13
50. IV. 25.16.
51. VI.121.25
52. II. 6.13.
53. Ādiparvan, 126.4.
54. ibid., 110.30.
55. VI.111.35.
56. *Ṛgveda*, I.109.4.
57. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.32.8.
58. ibid, II.32.4.
59. ibid, VI.3.43.
60. *Mahābhārata* , Udyogaparva, 162.16.
61. III. 26.43.

62. Vanaparvan,146.40.
63. Bhīṣmaparvan, 5.17.
64. ibid, Vanaparvan, 155.55.
65. ibid, Udyogaparvan, 29.49. References from the *Mahābhārata* unless otherwise indicated, are from the Critical Edn. from Poona while those from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are from the Nirnaya Sagar Press edn., Bombay, 1909.
66. III. 10.19.
67. Udyogaparvan, 29.49.
68. IV.48.10
69. VI.16.5
70. I. 10.35.
71. Vanaparvan, 5.3.
72. Ādiparvan, 175.5.
73. *Carakasaṁhitā*, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 4
74. V. 14.27.
75. VII. 15.43.
76. Udyogaparvan, 43.16.
77. Sabhāparvan, 5.40.
78. Udyogaparvan, 43.16.
79. ibid., 43.12.
80. V. 19.16.
81. III. 60.11.
82. IV.68.
83. Udyogaparvan, 89.6.
84. V.2.9.
85. Śāntiparvan, 192, Citrasala Press Edn., p.331.
86. I. 9.20.
87. I. 15.4.
88. III. 4.9.
89. V. 10.25.
90. X. 81.36.
91. VI. 49.28.
92. Śāntiparvan, 174.28
93. V.27.35.
94. VI.34.9
95. I.5.14.
96. I. 11.12.

9

## Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia have roused the curiosity of linguistic authorities since centuries. Thus Yāska (3.18) speaks of the word *kāka* as *śabdānukṛti*, but it is very interesting to observe that in the very next line he quotes the protest of *Aupamanyava* who challenged the very existence of onomatopoeia (*na śabānukṛtir vidyata ity aupamanyavaḥ*). Further, in 9.12 Yāska first takes *dundubhi* as *śabdānukaraṇa*, but only as an alternative possibility, for he at once begins to derive it in various ways.

Imitation is said to be the most important factor in onomatopoeia. But the latest researches of psychologists have exploded this 'Imitation', if it is to be taken literally. Let us take a single 'imitative' word, viz., 'the crowing of a cock'. The following words for it may be noted.

| | |
|---|---|
| Punjabi | *kukrūkarhū* |
| Hindi | *kukrūkū* |
| English | *cock-a-doodle-doo* |
| German | *kikeriki* |
| French | *cocorico* |
| Malaya | *kokokōko* |
| Telugu | *kokkurō kō* |
| Marathi | *kukūkku* |
| Russian | *kukareku* |
| Sindhi | *kukṛūkū* |
| Tamil | *kokkarákokko* |
| Rajasthani (Bikaner) | *kukṛùkkū* |

That the above list has an imitative element; goes without saying. But it is equally clear that on this imitative element there

is a superimposition of the speech habits and psychological trends of each particular speech group.

Webster has explained onomatopoeia as the naming of a thing or action by a more or less exact reproduction of the sound associated with it.

Now association is the essence of the concept of onomatopoeia. This association will come from the peculiar psychological trend of each speaker, a trend which will finalize the shape of the word concerned.

## Psychological aspects of Onomatopoeia

We shall now catch firmly hold of Webster's 'association' in the above definition, and turn to a greater master in our field, viz., the world-renowned German psychologist, Wundt, who, in his masterly book, *Die Sprache* (1928, p.338), tells us plainly that it is auditory images rather than onomatopoeia or exact imitations of sounds that actually play their part in these phenomena. If there is any imitation at all in these sounds, he says, it is imitation by a sound, not imitation of a sound. In another passage (p.364) he adds that we have here to do with 'suggestive' sound-gesture rather than imitative sound-gesture. It is this 'suggestive' sound-gesture that led to those luxuriant sound pictures which impress us so much in the language of the world.

## Pāṇini's division of Onomatopoeia

Amazing indeed is Pāṇini's approach to onomatopoeia, for it is similar to that of Wundt, as could be read in Pāṇini's term for this phenomenon, viz., *avyaktānukaraṇa* in 5.4.57, *avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārdhād anitau ḍāc avyaktānukaraṇe,* for onomatopoeia, was one of the happiest phraseologies of Pāṇini. To Pāṇini this phenomenon was not imitation in the strict sense of the term, but only imitation coloured as modern Linguistics would term it.

It is a pity that Monier Williams, referring to this very *sūtra*, has rendered *avyaktānukaraṇa* too literally, viz., imitation of inarticulate sounds. It is no doubt true that Pāṇini would have used

the term *avyakta* for inarticulate sounds, as is clear from his use of the opposite terms in 1.3.48 *vyaktavācāṁ samuccāraṇe* on which Patañjali refers to speech sounds actually uttered by human beings (*vyaktā vāci varṇā yeṣām*). But the comments of the *Nyāsa* on *avyaktānukaraṇa* happily refer to the same auditory images as mentioned by Wundt. Thus commenting on this *sūtra*, the *Nyāsa* states that when, after the word *paṭat* in the imitative form *paṭapaṭākaroti*, the suffix *ḍāc* is in view, a mental image of the sound, though it is not actually generated, leads to the (mental) repetition of the word *paṭat* (in the form of *paṭapaṭākaroti*).

> *paṭacchabād ḍāci vivakṣite viṣayabhūte buddhisthe 'nutpanna eva pūrvaṁ tāvad dvirvacanaṁ paṭacchabdasya kriyate*

*Avyaktānukaraṇa*, therefore, in this context, cannot mean 'imitation of inarticulate sounds', but only 'a visualized (literally not concretely perceived) imitation', what classical Sanskrit would term *kalpitānukaraṇa*. The factual analysis of the concept of onomatopoeia should involve two elements: sensuous and imaginative, the latter predominating. 'But in life it is the ratio that counts' said the great French philosopher Rousseau, and the real problem before the modern researcher is to discern the ratio between the sensuous and imaginative elements of an onomatopoeia.

## Data from the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini

In order to face this challenging problem, Wundt unfortunately is unable to help the modern researcher, who has, therefore, to fall back on Webster's definition of onomatopoeia, the main emphasis of which lies on 'association'. In order to see how far 'association' could help us in ascertaining the ratio between the sensuous and the imaginative in onomatopoeia, it is useful to have a look at Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*. The following data may have some remote bearing on this issue:

(*i*) Only three categories of verbs in the *Dhātupāṭha* show the sensuous elements of an onomatopoeia. They are:

(*a*) to laugh : *kakh-, khakh-, ghaggha-, ghagha*

Probably these phonetic differences had a dialectical basis.

(*b*) to cough : *kāsu-*

(*c*) to hiccup: *hikk-*

From the above it would appear that the ratio between the sensuous phenomenon and imaginative phenomenon is meagre. In an article on the 'French Language'[1] it is stated:

> *"Onomatopoeia has enriched French with a certain number of words; about 100 belong to this category, says the Dictionnarie Generale, e.g. chuchoter to whisper, conquerico cook-a-doodle-doo, but the advance of etymology may whittle down the number of these terms, some of which figure in this class for want of better knowledge." It is evident that in French too the ratio may be small.*

If onomatopoeia are considered from a wider, associative point of view, as Webster would have, that associated words with similar sounds could also be called onomatopoeic; one sound, suggesting another, the phenomenon then could be a pattern of 'suggestive sound gesture' as explained in Para II above. In this wider sense, the ratio of onomatopoeic element in the *Dhātupāṭha* would be considerably increased, as the following data will show:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *kuṇa* | to sound | *kuś* | to shoot |
| *stan* | to sound | *stubh* | to utter a joyful sound |
| *kvaṇa* | to tinkle | *ghuṣ* | to proclaim |
| *stu* | to praise | *kū* | to cry |
| *śap* | to swear | *raṭ* | to speak |
| *ru* | to make noise | *ku* | to murmur |
| *śabda* | to make any sound | *raṇ* | to rattle noise or sound |
| *ruṭ* | to speak | *gu* | to hum |
| *rud* | to shed tears | *bhaṭ* | to speak |
| *bhaṇ* | to speak | *mand* | to yell |

Slight semantic differentiation by phonetic modification is a common phenomenon in all languages. The following examples from Awadhi, may be of some interest:

*kikiyāb* : to cry, said of a baby when crying out of hunger.
*kilkilāb* : to cry, of the baby, out of satisfaction.
*cīkhab* : to cry bitterly, said of the baby
*cīciyab* : to cry owing to some unknown cause, said of a baby.

## New Creation on Onomatopoeic Basis

On p. 179 Wundt has described new creations in language, on the basis of suggestive sound as explained above.

Similarly H. Paul in his, 'Prinzipien der Sprachgeschiche'[2] has described young people's new creations, in their efforts to describe the phenomena of sounds and movements. Thus in German the word (*baum*) means a 'tree' which gives (*bammeln*) to swing, said of the swinging nature of a tree, while (*bummeln*), slightly modified, means 'to walk.' Wackernagel has pointed out, how, in Vedic, new formations on an onomatopoeic basis were possible, as the *taṅkāra*, *phūtkāra*, *akkhalīkṛtya*.[3]

## Onomatopoeia in Poetry

There is need of a systematic plan for investigating the system of onomatopoeia in poetry, taking the term in the wider sense of suggestive sound gesture. Moreover, the occurrence of a word like *cāmarīgharghara* in literature[4] indicates that in poetry the delicate shades of Semantics have also to be studied side by side. For, the world renowned French philologist Vendrey points out that

> *a word is not to be soley defined by the abstract definition found in a Dictionary. Around the logical meaning of each word there floats, an emotional atmosphere, which envelopes and penetrates.*[5]

It seems that with *cāmarī*, only the repetitive aspects of *cāmarī* movements were enough for the poet to give the sense of *gharghara*. On the other hand, in Ayadhi *bhar bhar* is used in the sense of rush and speed, e.g., *bhar bhar manei nikare log* 'crowd of men began to rush in speed.'

## REFERENCES

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, p 762. f.56
2. 1920, p.177.
3. *Altindische Grammatik*, 1905, p.7.
4. *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.
5. V. K. Gokak, *The Poetical Approach to Language*, Oxford, 1952, p.19.

10

## The Yogavāsiṣṭha: A Linguistic Appraisal

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is always a fascinating study. This charming *rasamayakāvya*[1] has exercised a very powerful influence on the life and thought of millions of people of India over the ages. A voluminous work of some thirty-two thousand stanzas in its vulgate edition it can certainly be expected to be a good repertory of all kinds of information—historical, social, religious and cultural. So can it be a good index of the language as it obtained in contemporary society. Unfortunately not much work has been done on this aspect of it so far. Some stray attempts[2] have, no doubt, been made, but no complete study is available yet. It is proposed to study here some of the different aspects of the language of the great work which deserve special notice.

### 1. Unfamiliar Words or Words with unfamiliar meanings

These include such words as *aṅgaruha*[3] feather, *añjas*[4] manifestly, *asthi*[5] conch, *aṣṭhi* kernal[6], *aṣṭhīla*[7], *aṣṭhīvat*[8] knotty, *āpātanikā*[9] introduction, *ārabhaṭī*[10] confused noise, hullaballoo, *āvāta*[11] coming out, issuing forth, *bhissā*[12] skin, a cover enveloping the seed (*bījasārāvaraṇabhāgaḥ*), *bhramī*[13] confusion, lack of balance in thinking, *carma*[14] husk (used in the context of paddy), *ceṇḍaka*[15] a support made up of grass (to be put on the head), *daṇḍapāda*[16] beating of the foot, *dat*[17] ivory vessel, *daradin*[18] under the influence of poison, *dhvaṁsikā*[19] destruction in between the two Manvantaras (vide commentaryTP, *Manvantarasandhipralayaḥ*), *gargaṭa*[20] a kind of instrument,

*garta*[21] wound, *guḍuccha*[22] or *guluccha*[23] or *gulucchaka*[24] a bunch of flowers or a cluster of blossoms, *gharṣula*[25] given to rubbing, *i*[26] an expletive particle, *jambulaka*[27] fox, *janya*[28] a (skilled) soldier, a warrior, *kaccha*[29] armpit(?), *kalamagopikā*[30] the female guard of paddy, *kakṣa*[31] heap of straws or joint of tree-trunk and branches[32] karabha[33] ass (*gardabha*) or bear (*bhallūka*), *kaśmā*[34] swoon, *kālikā*[35] ignorance (*avidyā*), *kharolikā*[36] a game for merriment, *kiṇa*[37] hollow of a tree, *kirāru*[38] shrivelled grains, *kopita*[39] highly tormented or excessively harassed (*atipīḍita*), *kṛtti*[40] separateness, variety, *kuka*[41] to seize, *lāṅgūla*[42] the tongue-like piece of iron that hangs from the hollow of a bell, *lekha*[43] a dug up channel, *matha*[44] annihilated (by the gods), *mihikā*[45] mist, *pādajāti*[46] of superior quality, *mṛdvikā*[47] very soft, *palyūla*[48] heap of dry leaves etc., *paribimbitavat*[49] desired, *pādū*[50] a horse shoe, *paṭala*[51] a flower basket, (*puṣpakaraṇḍaka*), *paṭalāndhekṣaṇa*[52] blind of eyes because of cataract, *paṭalinī*[53] eye that has developed cataract, *patrāla*[54] covered with foliage, *phalinī*[55] (*kalpalatā*), desire-yielding creeper, *piṇḍabhāryā*[56] a fleshy knot in the left side of the abdomen, *pītala*[57] yellow, *prativiṣā*[58] poison creeper, *puryaṣṭaka*[59] the Self, *repha*[60] a bee or its wing or its humming, *rīti*[61] brass, *śābdika*[62] one making sounds, *saṁkhyā*[63] light, *saṁśīkā*[64] doubtful, *sāra*[65] entire, complete, *śukta*[66] honey (*mākṣika*), *saṁśīka*[67] darkness, *tarṇaka*[68] calf, *tarṣula*[69] thirsty, *tāṇḍavinī*[70] a female dancer, *tṛṇamaṇi*[71] a kind of stone which attracts grass to it, *vācanīya*[72] to be made to speak, *vāstuka*[73] a place of habitation, *vidhurita*[74] disturbed, *kṣubdha*, *vikālita*[75] harrassed, *yamayātrā*[76] a festival in honour of Yama, the god of death.

Of the many rather little known names of divine beings and human beings occurring in the work mention may be made of Rūpikās[77], a species of Piśācas, and Saṁvarta[78], brother of Bṛhaspati.

There are a number of obscure names of plants and trees too that find mention in the work. First we have the *śleṣmātaka*[79], a tree full description of which the work itself gives: 'it is a thorny tree growing in dirty or impure places, *sakaṇṭakam*

*amedhyastham.*'

Of the other botanical terms occurring in the work mention may be made of *bheruka*[80] name of a flower considered rather auspicious, *era*,[81] a kind of grass, also called *eraka*, *guducha*[82] name of a creeper, or a particular medicinal herb with quick healing properties, *kuraṇṭaka*[83] a kind of thicket, *madanaphala*[84] and *mātuliṅga*[85], some kind of fruits, the latter believed to increase the heat in the (*pittam uddīpayati*) when eaten.

Of the many unfamiliar names of birds and insects occurring in the work mention may be made of *cāṣa*[86], *ghūrṇīkā*[87], *krakara*[88], *vālmīka*[89], *vaṭīkā*[90] and *śqlī*[91] all different kinds of birds, *prācikā*[92] a kind of spider with long feet, *puttikā*[93] and *vālakhilyas*[94] some types of insects, *varvaṇas*[95] blue flies (*nīlamakṣikās*), *valāṅgika*[96] a kind of animal.

There are a few words which are rather little known names of places whose proper identification is not possible. Of them mention may be made of *bhūtagraha*[97] (*bhūtamaṇḍala*), *dīna*[98], *kīramaṇḍala*[99] and *śauka*[100].

## 3. Made-up words

*Abhijātopala*[101] crystal, *amaraśailendra*[102] and *devācala*[103], the mount Meru, *agrasuti*[104] water basin round the root of a tree, *arkamaṇi*[105] or *arkaratna*[106], the sun jewel (*sūryakāntamaṇi*), asatsaka[107] a thing which has no existence in reality, *asuradeśika*[108] Śukra (lit. *deśika*=guru of the Asuras), *avakarānila*[109] (*pralayavāyu*), the wind at the time of Destructon, *ājyapa*[110] deity, *bhavacārin*[111] the people who are wont to subsist on whatever (little) they get in return for their labour (vide commentary *tattaddinaprāptānnabhakṣaṇaśīlāḥ*), *dhātukṣobha*[112] disturbance or disequilibrium in humours, *jālakāra* spider[113], *kāmpika*[114] winnower, *khaḍgapṛṣṭhī*[115] or *asiśirā*[116] the edge of the word, *maruvāḥpratyaya*[117] mirage, *meghavidhi*[118] Indra, *lobhiliṅga*[119] given to sexual.pleasures, *nāṅgaka*[120] Cupid, *pāṇḍu acala*[121] the mount *Kailāsa*, *paṭavāsa*[122] pollen, *phalāmṛj*[123] fruit-plucker (fruit-gatherer), *pūraṇāśā*[124] the western quarter, *rāgatantrita*[125] passionate, *ṛtutvama*[126] the Sun, *sitoda*[127] the lake

Acchoda; *sthiramaṇi*[128] crystal, *tantrībhāra*[129], a leather bag with strings, *tāpaka*[130] the Sun, *tāpanadī*[131] mirage, *tapakāñcanarut*[132] fire, *tuhināhāra*[133] fire, *ūrṇāyu*[134] a sheep or a ram, *utkara* palm of the hand, *vanala*[135] cloud, *varakalpanā*[136] bestowing of honour on the best of the soldiers; *vyomaplava*[137] an aerial car.

## 2. Etymologies

In common with many other older works the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* does contain a few etymologies. A few choicest examples of them are taken up here with such comments as are deemed necessary.

### Brahmā

The reason why Brahmā is called so is given in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in an interesting manner. The primeval child born of lotus, when getting up from its enclosed bed gave out the first cry of Brahma and so it came to be called Brahma:

*garbhatalpāt samutthāya padmajaḥ prathamaḥ śiśuḥ।*
*brahmeti śabdam akarod brahmā tena sa ucyate॥* [138]

Now, this seems unconvincing and is purely fanciful. But the author knows the correct etymology too. That is why at another place he says:

*brahmedaṁ bṛṁhitākāraṁ bṛhad bṛhad avasthitam*[139]

Brahmā is so called because it is *bṛṁhita*, i.e. it is derived from √*bṛṁh* and rightly so. Our contention is that just as the word Brahma is derived from √*bṛṁh* so should the word Brahma be derived from it. Why should a different explanation be suggested to explain the word Brahmā when the more reasonable one can be easily offered.

### Bhāsa

To show that certain names are significant, our author gives us interesting mythological stories. In the story of Bhāsa, as given in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, when the deer reappeared in human form from the fire lit by Vasiṣṭha the people assembled in the court of

Daśaratha were simply amazed at the refulgence (*bhāsana*) of his attire and they exclaimed, 'what a brilliance' (*aho bhāḥ*). From this *bhāsana* brilliance or refulgence the Being who was coming out of fire came to be known as Bhāsa. In the words of the author:

> *aho bhā iti sabhyoktyā tasya veṣasya bhāsanāt* ।
> *bhāsvān iva viśālābho bhāsa ity eṣa śabditaḥ* ॥[140]

Bhāsa came to be known as Bhāsa because he was *bhāsamāna*, 'shining'.

**Lalanā**

Sometimes our author gives us etymologies based on his own notion of things. As for example, *lālanāt snigdhalalanā*.[141] According to him, it is on account of *lālana* (fondling, loving) that a woman is called *lalanā*. *Lalanā* should more correctly be derived from √*lad* 'vilase', it is dalliance that marks her out from the opposite sex; but with our author it is her loving nature that predominates: hence his derivation from √*lal*, 'to love', 'to fondle', 'to caress'. What he derives is not merely *lalanā* but *snigdha-lalanā*. Still the derivation is defective inasmuch as it does not account for the shortening of the radical vowel in *lalanā*.

**Medinī**

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* explains as to why the earth is called *medinī*:

> *medinī medinī jātā śavasya tasya medasā*[142]

The author evidently connects *medinī* with *medas*, and derives the word from it.

**Pitṛ**

Sometimes in deriving certain nouns, the author assumes roots other than the ones usually accepted. For instance, he derives the word *pitṛ* from √*pāl* in the sense of 'bringing up' or 'rearing', *pālanāt pavanaḥ pitā*.[143] Ordinarily we derive *pitṛ* from √*pā*, 'to protect', with *tṛn*, the irregular for *pātṛ* which is nowhere used

in the sense of father. Perhaps he is only giving us the derivative meaning and not the derivation itself.

**Prakṛti and Deha**

Sometimes our author gives us etymologies which do not enlighten us in the least. He simply adds a cognate form in the Instrumental or Ablative to the word which he seeks to derive. For instance, we read:

*prakṛtiḥ prakṛtitvena deho digdhatayā sthitaḥ*[144]

What does he mean by it? It is a string of words, though connected in sense, yet conveying little. To say that *Prakṛti* is so called because it is *prakṛti* and *deha* is so called because it is *digdha* is to say little. Our knowledge would not be poorer for the absence of it. It is only when the commentator explains *prakṛtiḥ* as *prakarṣeṇa kṛtiḥ* that we get a ray of light. Similarly, the word *deha* is from √*dih*, in the sense of full of (*upacaya*). *deha* (*body*) is so called because it is full of so many things, flesh, bones, marrow, blood, fat and so on.

**Vaidūrya**

To illustrate a point the author gives us the derivation of the word *vaidūrya:*

*vidūrasyeva vaidūryam aucityāj jaladodayāt*।[145]

*Vaidūrya* is a gem of this name. It is so called because it is found in the region of Vidūra 'in the rainy season'. The word *vaidūrya* is formed by adding the suffix *ñya* to *vidūra* by Pāṇ. *vidūrāñ ñyaḥ* (9.4.84). There is a very interesting discussion on the word in the *Mahābhāṣya* under this *sūtra.*[146] The point is that the cats eye gem (*vaidūrya*)[147] is not found in the Mount Vidūra. It is found in the Mount Vālavāya. It is merely polished in Vidūra. How can this then be said to be *Vaidūrya* (*Vidūrāt prabhavati*). Bhāṣyakāra's reply is that Vidūra is a substitute of Vālavāya. Or Vidūra is an another name of Vālavāya current among the grammarians, certain words current among certain communities

only, as for example, *jitvarī* for Vārāṇasī which is current in the business community.

**Viṣūcikā**

Just as the etymology of the word *medinī* is based on an old story in the same way the etymology of the word Viṣūcikā, too is given on the basis of an old legend. The legend is that there used to be a demoness Karkaṭī in the northern part of the Mount Himālaya. She did not get enough food to eat while her hunger was insatiable. She thought that she would be able to satisfy her hunger only if she could consume all the inabitants of the Jambudvīpa. She could not ordinarily do this for they had protected themselves by means of incantations (*mantras*), medicines, penance, charity, worship of the gods and such other things. She, therefore, took to severe penance to gain her objective by pleasing Brahmā. After one thousand years Brahmā appeared before her and gave her the boon asked for by her: "Grant me Sire, that I become a *jīvasūcikā*, living needle made of iron or something else. Brahmā agreed to this saying: "With *vi* prefixed to your name (*sūcikā*) you would become Viṣūcikā."[148] Now, Viṣūcikā is, according to the text, a painful disease caused by the abnormality of wind; according to Suśurta it is cholera in its sporadic form. Thus we see how the disease of Viṣūcikā is represented allegorically as a demoness of that name transformed into a piercing needle made of iron and internally and invisibly eating into the vitals of the people. Now, this derivation of Viṣūcikā from *sūcikā* (needle) with *vi* prefixed to it is quite imaginative and ingenious though not convincing. It leaves cerebralization unexplained. The degree of pain felt by one suffering from the disease is supposed to be equivalent to the pain felt when one is being pierced with needles; and support is lent to this derivation by Suśruta when it expressly says: *sūcibhir iva gātrāṇi tudan saṁtiṣṭhate 'bhitaḥ, yasyājīrṇena sā vaidyair viṣūcīti nigadyate*. The Suśruta, it may be noted, retains the original *s* of *sūcī* and does not read a cerebral instead. The

meaning, too, is clear, it is cholera. Viṣūcikā is, therefore, a disease which affects the body in both directions, upwards and downwards by causing motions and vomitting at the same time. Monier Williams regards the form *visūcikā* incorrect.

## 4. Synonyms

The author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is far removed in point of time to the earlier stage of the language when synonymity was in its initial stage of development and had not yet come to be an established fact. The very consciousness on his part as evidenced by the following quotes of the synonymity in words would inhibit any analyst in looking through the work for fresh light on synonyms:

i. *nirvāṇam eva sargaśrīḥ sarśaśrīr eva nirvṛtiḥ।*
*nānayoḥ śabdayor arthabhedaḥ paryāyayor iva॥*[149]

ii. *viṣṇvātmaśabdau paryāyau yathā viṭapipādapau।*[150]

iii. *nānayor vidyate bhedas tarupādapayor iva।*[151]

iv. *dharmādharmau vāsanā ca karmātmā jīva ity api।*[152]

v. *jagad brahma virāṭ ceti śabāḥ paryāyavācakāḥ।*[153]

vi. *ākāśam paramākāśaṁ brahmākāśaṁ jagac citiḥ।*
*iti paryāyanāmāni tatra pādapavṛkṣavat॥*

Still he cannot restrain himself from pausing for a while when he comes across in this very work the juxtapostition of these so called synonyms. When an author who is conscious of the synonymity of words uses them together, he must be using them with some difference, so he thinks to himself. And then he proceeds to find this out. But soon he is confronted with the difficulty of practically little help from the commentator. He continues his efforts and puts forwards his conjectures making them look as much plausible as possible. But there are *pairs such as jala-ambu*,[154] *saṁdeha-saṁśaya*,[155] *asi-khaḍga*,[156] *kha-ākāśa*,[157] *sāgara-arṇava*[158] etc. where he does not dare to put forward conjectures even and waits for the auspicious day when further literary evidences would help to solve his difficulty.

An effort is made in the following pages to find out the difference in meaning in the following pairs:

## Asi-Nistriṁśa

Both of these have the sense of sword and are mentioned as synonyms in lexica. But their juxtaposition in a *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse precludes their being so. The verse in question reads: *kadācid asinistriṁsacchinnaḥ so 'stam upāyayau*[159] Here the commentator is helpful. He explains the difference as: *asibhir dīrghakhaḍgair, nirgatās triṁśadbho 'ṅgulibhyo nistriṁśāḥ kṛpāṇikāḥ, asis* are bigger things like swords while *nistriṁśas* are smaller things like daggers.

## Avagraha -Avṛṣṭi

These occur in the verse *avṛṣṭy avagrahonnaṣṭa-kaṣṭaceṣṭitavānarā.*[160] *Avagraha* is formed by Pāṇ *ave graho varṣapratibandhe* (3.3.51) and means drought. So does mean *avṛṣṭi*. Probably the difference in them lies in duration. While *avṛṣṭi* may be shorter in duration, *avagraha* may spread over a longer period. But this is merely a conjecture and needs positive support.

## Jaṅgala-Araṇya-Vana

*Jaṅgala* and *araṇya* and *vana* and *jaṅgala* are found juxtaposed in the verses:

> *dvīpopavanadikkuñjajaṅgalāraṇyabhūmiṣu*[161]
> *jajvalur vanajālāni purāṇi nagarāṇi ca*
> *maṇḍaladvīpadurgāṇi jaṅgalāni sthalāni ca*[162]

According to Monier Williams *araṇya* means 'wilderness'. While *Jaṅgla* means 'arid desert'. About *vana* we have the authority of *Tilaka*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentary, according to which it means a kind of grove of trees like mangoes fit for human consumption: *vanam āmrādiyutaṁ mānuṣabhogyam*.

## Kallola-Ūrmi-Taraṅga

In one place in the work these occur together. Of these *kallola* can be kept out of the present discussion for its different senses has already been noted by lexica: *mahatsūllolakallolau, ullola* and

*kallola* mean mighty, *mahat*, waves (*taraṅgas*), possibly billows in the ocean. But about *ūrmi* and *taraṅga* it is the order of their mention in the work that provides the clue. First we have *kallola*, mighty waves, and then *ūrmis* which are waves small in size and then *taraṅgas* which are even smaller than the *ūrmis*. The verse in question reads:

> *jñasya sarvaṁ citaṁ rāma brahmaivārartate sadā।*
> *kallolormitraṅgaughair abdher jalam ivātmani.॥*[63]

## Pauruṣa-Prayatna

These are used side by side in more than one place.[164] Evidently in all these places *pauruṣa prayatna* would, therefore, mean the effort of man. Probably *pauruṣaprayatna* was used in contrast with *daiva-prabhāva* (divine power). *Pauruṣa* by itself means 'of a man' (*puruṣasyedam*). On account of long and constant association of *pauruṣa* with *prayatna* the idea of *prayatna* came to be appropriated by *pauruṣa* itself and *pauruṣa* itself came to mean *prayatna* or effort. This led to the synonymity of *pauruṣa* and *prayatna*.

## Pavana-Vāyu

These occur together in the verse: *tad bhasma pavanānītaṁ sāsthi vāyur ayojayat.*[165] The commentator explains the line as: *vātyāpavanair ūrdhvam ānītam, sasthi = asthi-sahitam, tad bhasma vāyur ūrdhvapravāhī caṇḍapavanaḥ*. From this it appears that *pavana* is just wind while *vāyu* is a strong wind rising upwards.

## Pūrṇa-Bharita

The distinction in the meanings of these words is not clear but that these are not synonyms becomes clear from the following verse where they are juxtaposed:

> *cirasāmyāt manotthena nirvibhāgavilāsinā*
> *rājan jñeyavibodhena pūrṇena bhartitātmanā*[166]

## Sahakāra-Āmra

The author himself makes clear the difference in the meaning of these words, when he says: *āmra eva daśām eti sāhakārīṁ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ*[167] *āmra* itself grows into a state of *sahakāra* slowly and gradually. Etymologically *sahakāra* means 'what brings together': *saha karoti iti sahakāraḥ*, or as Kṣīrasvāmin puts it *saha kārayati melayati strīpuruṣau iti sahakāraḥ*,[168] *sahakāra* is so called because it brings lovers together. Now, a mango tree which has not yet blossomed and is not, therefore, giving out a sweet smell cannot even invite the bees, much less bringing lovers together; it has yet to become a *sahakāra āmra*. The word *sahakāra* is an example of that semantical tendency on account of which words first lose the qualitative sense and then come to be used as substitutes for the nouns they once qualified.

## 5. Onomatopoeia

### A. Distributional analysis

A peculiarity of the language of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* lies in the profusion in it of the onomatopoeic words. It stands out as a veritable repository of these which lie interspersed throughout the work. They are, however, more prominently to be found in descriptions of battles, wars, floods, conflagrations and such other natural or man-made calamities, and occur there in quick succession. And this is very natural, for there the language becomes racy, weapons and arrows go flying and their whizzing and buzzing have to be expressed in words which are based on these sounds. There is a larger scope for onomatopoeic words there, for, there is intense action or feverish activity then: many things moving and rattling and clashing with each other.

### B. Frequency

It is interesting to discuss here the frequency of some of the onomatopoeic words. Among these we may mention *gharghara* which occurs about thirty times, *ghunghuma*[169] which is second

in frequency and occurs about twenty-five times, *caṭa caṭa* which occurs about seventeen times, *paṭa paṭa* which occurs about ten times, *kreṅkāra* which occurs about eight times, *ṭāṅkṛta* which occurs about ten times, *raṇa raṇa* and *huṅkāra* each of which occurs about six times in the work. Some of the others occur thrice or four times while there are a score or so which are found only once. The explanation for the unusual frequency of some of these onomatopoeic words is furnished by their very nature. There are some very common and general sounds which can be associated with most of the things. The words for them would also necessarily be the same. Again, quite often, some very slight difference in the sound, if at all it exists, is ignored and that sound is identified with another similar sound. To take the word *gharghara*, we may say that sometimes it is used for the din of the battle, as for example, *dhīrahuṅkāramiśroṣmaghargharā-ravaghasmaraḥ*,[170] *maraṇavyagrakṛttāṅgayodhākrandātighar-gharaḥ*[171]; at other times, it is used for the sound of the chowries: *kriyate gaganoḍḍīnaiś cāmaraiś cārughargharaiḥ*,[172] and still at other times it is used for the gurgling of the water of a river, as for example, *sindhor abdhimukhaṁ yuddhe ghargharārāvaraṁ-hasaḥ*.[173] *Gharghara* is most frequently used for any confused or mixed noise, as for example, *diśaś calitamātaṅgasiṁharkṣara-vaghargharāḥ*,[174] *kvacit salilakallolajaladollāsaghargharaḥ*,[175] *etatkulācalaskandhabaddhograravaghargharam*.[176] Sometimes the word is used for the sound of the water of the ocean when it is compared to the stones falling from high altitude, as for example, *āvartaghargharārāvair jalam ūrdhvam adho 'nalam*,[177] while at other times it is used to denote the gurgling sound of the whirl-pool, as for example, *mahāghuraghurārāvaghargha-rogramahārayaḥ*.[178] The waters of the ocean are described to be producing a roaring sound, as for example, *trijagadgrāsa-santṛptaḥ pragāyann iva ghargharaiḥ*[179]. The reference is here to the ocean Ekārṇava whose waters were making the *gharghara* sound. In the same context the author uses the word (*gharghara*) at least twice, once when he refers to the three worlds being destroyed by the gushing, roaring currents of the ocean:

*ekārṇavapayaḥpūrair ghargharārāvaraṁhasi* I
*trailokyakhaṇḍasaṁhāre prohyamāṇe mahāmbhasi* II[180]

and the second time when he imagines the ocean to be singing on account of the *gharghara* sound produced by it after it had been satiated by the swallowing up of the three worlds: *trijagadgrāsasantṛptaḥ pragāyann iva ghargharaiḥ*.[181]

We have the further use of *gharghara* in the context of the heavenly beings' sight of sky-like oceans producing jarring notes by their thick waves: *māṁsalormighaṭāghoṣaghargha-rāmbaraḍambarān*.[182] Occasionally the word is used even with reference to a mountain. While describing the mount Lokāloka the author refers to the fact that it was giving out a rumbling noise due to the billows in the waters (of its streams, etc.) and the roaring of the clouds: *kvacit salilakallolajaladollāsaghargharaḥ (lokālokaḥ śailaḥ)*.[183] *Gharghara* is also used for the noise of the falling stones: *dṛṣadāṁ ghargharāravaiḥ*.[184] The deep rumbling sound produced by the toppling down of cities also provides an occasion to the author for its use: *luṭhat surapuravrātavita-tākrandaghargharāḥ*.[185] When the houses fall, the author is again tempted to use the word for the rumbling sound produced thereby, as for example, *devāsuranarāgāraghargharākrandakarkaśān*.[186] As a matter of fact, any rumbling sound caused by the storms and the whirlwinds is represented by the word *gharghara* as can be seen from the following examples:

*suratarughargharaghasmarāḥ samīraḥ* I[187]

*bhūtataṇḍulam āsṛṣṭeḥ pinaṣṭi dhruvakīlakaḥ* I
*niyatyā calito rodaḥkapāṭāmbhodaghargharaḥ* II[188]

The word occurring next in frequency to *gharghara*, as pointed out earlier, is *ghuṅghuma* which represents humming sound. In classical literature this is generally used with reference to the humming of bees but in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it is used to denote any humming sound anywhere. Thus we see that the word is used in the context of the buzzing of the mosquitoes,[189] the humming of a song by a lady,[190] the deep rumbling sound in the ocean,[191] the constant buzzing sound going on in the

atmosphere,[192] the din of a city,[193] the echoes of certain sounds,[194] and such other things. Sometimes the author uses this word even for the roaring of the clouds, as for example, *ghanaghuṅghuma-sārāvān (deśān)*[195]: the countries resounding with the roaring of the clouds. At another place he uses it with reference to the thunder of the clouds, as for example, *meghā ivātighanaghuṅ-ghumabhīmaghoṣāḥ.*[196] At still another place he uses it for the whistling of the winds, as for example,

> *bṛhannāsāguhāgehanirgatā ghanaghuṅghumāḥ ।*
> *tatrogrā vāyavo vānti ghoraghūtkārakāriṇaḥ ॥*[197]

The author also uses it for denoting the deep sound in the caves (if they are very long), as for example, *guhāghuṅghuma-nirhrādabhāṅkāraghanaghargharam (mahāṇavam)*[198] and for the whirling noise of the clothes of the Kālarātri (in reality the clouds) as she is dancing most vigorously, as for example, *nīlameghāṁ-śukāvṛttivātaguṅghumitāmvaram (kālarātrinartanam).*[199]

## C. Uncommon Words

Among the many uncommon onomatopoeic words used by the author mention may be made of *bhamadbham*[200] which represents thumping, *bhāṅkāra*[201] which represents the terrible sound (produced by demonesses), *buḍabuḍa*[202] which represents the murmuring (of the gods and the demons who fall), *caṅkāra*[203] which represents something like hullabaloo (in an army), *calacala*[204] which represents the buzzing sound, *chalachala*[205] and *chapachapa*[206] which represent the splashing sound, *cīcīkūcī*[207] which represents the chirping or the warbling (of the birds), *cimacima*[208] which represents the throbbing, *culacula*[209] which represents the gushing sound, *drāṅkāra*[210] which represents the cawing of a crow, *kaṇakaṇā*[211] which represents the sound of clash of arms, *kāṅkāra*[212] which represents the shrieks, *karakara*[213] which represents the thud, *khadakhada*[214] which represents the whizzling (of the arrows), *kiṭakiṭa*[215] which represents the gnashing sound (produced by an insect), *krāṅkāra*[216] which represents the sound of the bursting fourth of

the wind (from some pits and depressions, etc.), *kucakuca*[217] which represents the chirping of birds, *kuhakuhā*[218] which represents the simmering (of the seven oceans when cooked or heated by the heat of the twelve suns), *kvatkāra*[219] which represents the whistling sound (produced by the *kīcaka* variety of bamboos), *salasala*[220] which represents the creaking sound (created by the *kuṇḍalinī* much in the same way as it is created by a she-serpent when it is struck with a rod, the sound very much resembling the sound produced by the telling of the beads of the *Rudrākṣamālā*), *śalaśala*[221] which repreents the movement of serpents, *śamaśamā*[222] which represents the sound of the subsiding conflagration, *saṇa*[223] which represents the sound of the flames of the sparks of fire going up, *śanaśana*[224] which represents the sound of the flames (of the fires of Lord Śiva), *śavaśavā*[225] which represents the whizzing (of the volley of shafts as they issue forth from above, viz., the clouds or the sound produced by the eating of flesh), *śukaśuka*[226] which represents the whistling of the winds (as they come out of the Vindhya caves), *sūtkāra*[227] which represents the zooming sound produced by weapons like *śaṅku*, *ṭakaṭaka*[228] which represents the clanking of the weapons (*bhuṣuṇḍis*), *tavatava*[229] which represents the cooing of the cuckoos, *ṭimaṭima*[230] which represents the sound of the smoke in the whirlpools of the mighty oceans rocked violently (when the elements came to a fierce conflict with each other at the time of the Doom), *timitimi*[231] which represents a peculiar sound produced in the battefield.

Now out of the thirty words, listed above, there are seventeen which are neither traceable to extant literature nor have any cognate form.

**D. Successive Use of Words**

One other peculiarity with regard to some of the onomatopoeic words is that they are not found alone; they are strung together. Such, for example, are the words, *āìkāra*, *ḍātkāra*, *sūtkāra*, *utkāra* etc. There are two verses in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* where they are found to occur together. They are:

*śemuḥ sūtkāraḍātkārabhāṅkārotkārakā diśām*।[232]
*yadṛcchātkāraḍātkārakaṭhināgniraṭadgṛham*॥[233]

Such other words which occur in the company of other similar words are *buḍabuḍa*[234] which occurs with *halahala*, *caṅkāra*[235] which occurs with *cītkāra* and *kreṅkāra*, *ghuṅghuma*[236] which occurs with *gharghara*, *rutkāra*[237] which occurs with *chamacchama*, *śavaśavā*[238] which occurs with *bhāṅkāra*, *sītkāra*[239] which occurs with *kaṇasaṇa*, and so on. The reason for this seems to be the likeness of sounds or the peculiarity of the place from which these origniate. If it is a battle field, there are bound to be all sorts of noises, yells, cries and shrieks. The same can be true of conflagration or other natural or man-made calamities. Whenever there is a description of such mishaps, the same words in the same company would be used.

### E. Manner of Employment of Words

Now a word about the way the onomatopoeic words are introduced. Very often they are used with the derivatives of the root √*kṛ*, 'to do', like *kāra*, *kṛta*, etc. They are found along with these with certain other words too. Among these mention here may be made of *rava*, *ārava*, *ārāva*, *śabda*, *svana*, *dhvani*, *āsphoṭa*, *āṭopa*, and, of course, the common word *iti*. Sometimes the onomatopoeic sounds are represented by a denominative verb thus formed. We meet with in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* the forms like *cimacimāyate*[240], *kacakacāyate*[241], *salasalāyate*[242], *chalachalāyante*[243] and *śukaśukāyante*.[244] At other times participial forms of the denominative base derived from an onomatopoeic word are used. Thus we have forms like *calacalāyad*[245], *dhamadhamāyad*[246], *guḍaguḍāyad*[247], *salasalāyad*[248], in the present participle and *gulagulāyita*[249], *khaṇakhaṇāyita*[250], etc. in the past participle.

Along with the *akārānta* onomatopoeic words are used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* the *ākārānta* words too. Such *ākārānta* words which are called *ḍājanta* (formed with the suffix *ḍāc*) in grammar are generally used with the words *śabda, dhvani*, etc. as may be seen from the following examples:

*sphutaccaṭacaṭāśabdapraluṭhatsphuṭakāṣṭhakam*। [251]
*vahacchavaśavāśabdaṁ niryayur dhanurambudāt*। [252]
*pacatpacapacāśabdimedomāṁsamayānalam*। [253]
*paṭaiḥ paṭapaṭāśabdajalajālālimālitaiḥ*। [254]
*āśāḥ śanaśanāśabdaiḥ puruṣaiś ca śivārciṣām*। [255]
*anilādhūtapalyūlasūtkṛtāśarabhadhvani*। [256]

Another peculiarity of such words is that sometimes the present participle forms of some of the roots are used along with the onomatopoeic words. These roots in themselves may be said to be onomatopoeic roots. Sometimes these present participle forms are used as independent onomatopoeic words, but at other times they are appended to the other onomatopoeic words. The meaning of these in the latter case is different. These then mean only something like 'giving out' or 'producing'. These only help bring out the sense of the onomatopoeic words with which they are used more forcefully as may be seen from the following examples: *kavatkaṭakaṭāṭope kaṭukuṭṭitaṭāṅkṛte,*[257] *pacatpaca-pacāśabdimedomāṁsamayānalam,*[258] *kāṣṭhāsthyādisphuṭās-photapaṭat paṭapaṭāravam,*[259] *sphuṭaccaṭacaṭāśabdapraluṭh-atsphuṭakāṣṭhakam,*[260] etc. Now we see that in these and other similar examples the words *kavat*, *pacat*, *paṭat*, *sphuṭat*, etc. are used in the sense of *kacat*[261], *jvalat*[262], *prodyat*[263], *sphurat*[264], *sphuṭat*[265], *udyad*[266], *vahat*[267], *valat*[268], *vaṭat*[269], etc. which are also used with the onomatopoeic words.

Sometimes the author takes the help of alliteration along with the onomatopoeic words for the proper bringing out of a sound and the creation of an atmosphere when that sound is uttered. Such an attempt has its complete effect. In certain examples like *parasparasusaṁghaṭṭakaṭuṭaṅkārakaṅkaṭam,*[270] *ciram āsphoṭakāsphoṭaluṭhaccaṭacaṭāravaḥ,*[271] *parasparormisaṅghaṭṭa-bhāṅkārakaṭuṭāṅkṛtaḥ,*[272] *khe vaṭat ketupaṭāṭṭapaṭatpaṭa-paṭāravam,*[273] *unnādayodhasaṅghaṭṭa-kaṅkaṭotkaṭaṭāṅkṛtaiḥ*[274] on account of the particular alliterative setting in which the onomatopoeic words are used, a very permanent and forceful effect is created on the mind. The jingle and the tinkle have not only to be expressed in specific words, may be they are

onomatopoeic words, the whole setting should reflect it and as the eye wanders on the pages of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it is able to catch that setting, the onomatopoeic words studded in alliterative bases.

## 6. Prakritisms

### A. Vocabulary

In a work belonging to the late Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa period, it is not uncommon to come across a few expressions here and there where the influence of these languages may be seen to be at work, more so, when matter continued to be added as the work grew in subsequent periods at the hands of redactors and rhapsodists. Under such modern-looking words we may include. Of some modern-looking Prakrit influenced rare words occurring in work mention may be made of *ācchoḍa*[275] backbone, *ācchoṭa*[276], plucking or gathering or the sound produced by the stretching of the knuckles (vide the comm. TP. ācchoṭā *aṅgulidhvanayaḥ*), *ācchoṭana*[277] to cause blossoming, *ākoṭa*[278] curved or crooked (*kuṭila*), *āmoṭana*[279] to roll (*piṇḍīkaraṇa*), *āsphoṭaka*[280] shield, *āsphoṭita*[281] strong shaking (of a piece of cloth to smoothen it by removing wrinkles), *ḍimbaka*[282] a lump, a ball; *guṭikā*[283] a small globe or ball; *guṭikāñjana*[284] collerium formed like a globe or ball, *kāṭa*[285] clash, *maṇḍaka*[286] a kind of sweetmeat, *pāṭa*[287] tearing, *peṭa*[288] or *peṭaka*[289] a basket, a box, *puṭaka*[290] or *puṭikā*[291] a bag or vessel made of leaf, and *ṭāla*[292] avoiding, *guṭikā*[293] (a small globe or ball), *helana*[294] (to shake), *kharpara*[295] (a skull), *pāṭa*[296] (breadth), *puṭaka*[297] or *puṭikā*[298] (a packet), *peṭaka*[299] (a box), *ṭāla*[300] (to put off, from √*ṭal*, cp. Hindi *ṭālanā*).

### B. Construction

Prakrit grammarians mention a suffix *ola*, a changed form of Sanskrit word *phala*[301] or suffix *ura*[302] which they join to certain words. The present work too has one or two examples of words with this suffix. These are *maṅkola* and *kaṅkola*. Just as with *ola*

so with *ula*. This Sanskrit suffix, restricted only to certain roots by Pāṇini, is found extended in the present work to certain other roots too, to form such words as *harṣula* and *tarṣula*. *Patrāla* and *śirāla* with *āla* are still other peculiar uses.

### C. Meaning

Not only in form, Prakrits introduced changes into the connotations of the words too. Thus, for example, the word *prānta*[303], originally meaning a corner, came to stand for a province. And it is in this sense that it is used in the work.

We now use an expression in Hindi *mujhe nind āi hai* in the sense of 'I feel sleepy'. But if we were to express the same idea in Sanskrit as *māṁ nidrā āgacchati* it will be strikingly modern; but this is what we find actually in the work where we meet with the expression: *māṁ nidrājagāma*.[304]

In line with this is the use of the roots √*lag*,[305] √*mṛ*[306] and √*gal*[307] in the sense of 'to stick or attach', 'to beat or strike' and (in a causal form) 'to melt' respetively.

## 7. Ellypsis

Among the many examples of ellyptical use in the work mention may be made of the verse *atha tasmin raṇe bhītyā sāpekṣatvam upāyayuḥ*.[308] This requires *jīvane* to complete the sense. It is to go with *sāpekṣatvam*. The construction of the sentence would be ............. '*te bhītyā jivane sāpekṣatvam upāyayuḥ*', that is, ' they, on account of their fear, felt the need (to save) their life. In the verse *tvam evānantayānanta-vastuvaicitryarūpayā, bhāvābhāvavilāsinyā nityam eva vijṛmbhase*,[309] all the words in the instrumental case are adjectives, which serve to qualify the *viśeṣya* which is missing and is to be supplied here. According to the commentator it is *kalpanayā*. Similarly, in the sentence *vivekadhanasambhārān sthito'smi parameśvaraḥ*,[310] *prāpya* is to be supplied. The construction then would be *vivekadhanasambhārān prāpya* etc. Further in the verse:

*atra tad bālaniḥśvāsaraṇadvaṁśapravṛttavatī*
*gītaṁ pītaṁ śuniraktaṁ sādhitā śavabhūṣitaḥ*ı[311]

*alaṁkriyā* will have to be supplied which will go with *sādhitā*. Just as *prāpya* is supplied in the verse *vivekadhanasambhārān* etc. so also is to to be supplied in the verse *ātmadhyāna-mayo'dhyāne prabodhaṁ paramtmanaḥ*.[312] The construction would be *prabodhaṁ prāpya*, etc. In the peculiar verse *sthiramaṇinibham ambho vāriṇī vārinīle*,[313] which also provides us an example of ungrammatical use, in that it gives the locative singular of the word *vāri* as *vāriṇī* instead of the regular *vāriṇi*, the expression *militaṁ sat* is to be supplied. This will go with *ambhaḥ*.

Not only is the need felt in some verses to supply nouns, adjectives and adverbs, sometimes the missing verb also to be found out and supplied to complete the sense. This is important in itself, for in Sanskrit a sentence must have a verb. In *deśakālavaśād eva tucchasyātucchatām iha*[314] the verb is missing. It should be *manyante* or *vicārayanti*. With it, the sentence becomes complete and begins to give full sense.

## 8. Short Forms

The problem of ellipsis brings us to another related problem of short forms or the abbreviations for the fuller forms. Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* notes the tendency of using a part of the word for the whole and cites the examples of Datta and Bhāmā for Devadatta and Satyabhāmā respectively.[315]

Coming to the present work we find that the short forms in it are of two types; one, which are the author's own creations, and two, which are found elsewhere too and are not the peculiarity of this work only.[316] Among the former we may include the following:

*bāla*[317] for *bālatantu*.

*daśa*[318] for *daśa diśaḥ*

*dinānta*[319] for *dinān tasādhya*.

*druma*[320] for *śmaśānadruma*.

*kaṭaka*[321] for *girikaṭaka*.

*khaṇḍa*[322] for *vanakhaṇḍa, guhākhaṇḍa or jagatkhaṇḍa.*

*koṭi*[323]for *sūcikoṭi.*

*reṇu*[324] for *trasareṇu*

*viśikha*[325] for *maṁmathaviśikha.*

*vṛddhi*[326] for *kuṭumbavṛddhi.*

It is interesting to note that in all these, it is generally the particular word that suffers and not the general word. The general word serves the purpose of the particular word too.

Among the latter, we may include the solitary *utsikta*, which, as the following verse would reveal, stands for *darpotsikta*:

*darpotsiktatayā kasyacit sa mahāmuneḥ.*[327]

## 9. Tautology

The present work furnishes two interesting examples of it. One is *sajjanajana*[328] which is repeated twice and the other *krauñcācalagiri*.[329]

## 10. Verbs with a Cognate Object

In *dhiyā kam apy ayaṁ bhūyaś cintāṁ cintayatīti ca,*[330] we have an example of it, which, however, is considered Punaruktidoṣa by critics such as Mahimabhaṭṭa.[331] Another similar expression is *krīḍābhiḥ krīḍyate.*[332]

## 11. Ka-kan ending Words

Pāṇini enjoins *ka* (*kan*) mainly on four occasions: (i) in the sense of the word itself (*svārtha*) as implied in the *sūtra* (5.4.5.), (ii) in the sense of smallness or diminution (*alpārtha*), (iii) in the sense of similiarity (*sādṛśya*), and (iv) in the sense of contempt (*kutsā*). The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* furnishes examples of all the four and more, though those of (i) far outnumber those of (ii), (iii), and (iv). Further *ka* of (i) not unoften lends peculiarity to the latter. They would be more familiar in the senses intended of them without it. Take the word *svārtha* itself. Add *ka* to it, make it

*svārthaka*;[333] the sense would remain the same, but the word would look rather odd. And this is precisely what has been done in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. *Kan* can be added to a word, as stated earlier, without effecting any change or alteration in the meaning of a word. It need not, however, be added any and everywhere. A few pointed instances where its use is unnecessary are: *mohaka*[334] for *moha*, infatuation; *mānavaka*[335] for *mānava*, man, *kuvikalpaka*[336] for *kuvikalpa*, evil thought; *ramyaka*[337] for *ramya*, charming; *khaṇḍaka* for *khaṇḍa*,[338] *calaka*[339] for *cala*, unsteady, *lavaka*[340] for *lava* small and *paramaka*[341] for *parama*, supreme.

Sometimes some *ka*-ending words develop a convention in meaning. They, therefore, do not yield normally the meaning of the pre-*ka*-addition base. Thus *mūlaka*[342] has developed a convention whereby it means a particular vegetable only and does not mean in ordinary usage, unlike in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *mūla* or root. Nor does *puṣpaka*[343], conventionally meaning an aerial car of that name, mean, unlike in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* a flower.

Occasionally *ka* in *svārtha* is added to the shortened form of the base. Thus we have the word *kalpaka*[344] in place of *kalpavṛkṣaka*, *kalpa* standing for *kalpavṛkṣa*.

In the sense of similarity *ka* is added to the word *ali* in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. *Alika*[345] there means 'like a bee'.

In *grāmaka*[346], *ka* has the sense of smallness: *grāmaka* = small village; so too is *ākāśaka*[347], *leśaka*[348], *ghaṭaka*[349], *kuṭikā*[350], *paṭaka*[351], and *alpaka*.[352]

In a different context, *ka* in *grāmaka* denotes wretchedness (vide the commentary *grāmakam* = *kugrāmam*).

In a couple of instances, which are a peculiarity of the work, *ka* occurs in the possessive sense which is nowhere enjoined by Pāṇini. *kāntika*-s[353], qualifying *lokas*, means possessing lustre or lustrous. It cannot be explained away by assuming the possessive suffix *ṭhan* ordained after the words of the *vrīhi gaṇa*, for *kānti* is not covered by the said *gaṇa*. The same is the sense of *ka* in *grāmaka*[354] which means villager, lit. 'of the village', and *Gomadadvīpaka*[355] which means 'belonging to Gomadadvīpa'. In *grāmeyaka*[356] (= villager), however, the possessive sense is

yielded by the *taddhita* suffix in the base itself, *ka* being only in *svārtha*.

## 12. Taddhita Formations

It is natural for a voluminous work like the *Yogavāsiṣṭa* to have all kinds of formations in its thouands of stanzas. A thorough study of them could be revealing from many points of view. The present one aims at bringing into focus the large number of *taddhita* formations which could serve a useful purpose in its linguistic analysis. The author has been rather prolific in their use deviating from Pāṇini only occasionally.

By far the largest number of *taddhita* formations are those with *aṇ*, added in the sense of belonging as enjoined by Pāṇini in the *sūtra tasyedam* (4. 3. 120). They are: *ābja*[357], *aindava*[358], *aindavī*[359], *aindrī*[360], *aindriya*[361], *āmara*[362], *āmbhoda*[363], *āmṛtī*[364], *ānila*[365], *āntara*[366], *ārka*[367], *ārṣa*[368], *āsura*[369], *auśanasa*[370], *āyasī*[371](*anāyasī*), *avāstavī*[372], *bādara*[373], bhāgavī[374], *brāhma*[375], *brāhmī*[376], *daivasī*[377], *jāgata*[378], *jāgatī*[379], *kālabha*[380], *kārśānava*[381], *kātaka*[382], *kausuma*[383], *kausumī*[384], *lāvaṇī*[385], *lāvaṇasaindhavī*[386], *mādirī*[387], *mādhavī*[388], *māgadha*[389], *māhendrī*[390], *mairava*[391], *mairavī*[392], *mānasī*[393], *mauna*[394] (*maunaṁ śarīram*), *maunī*[395], *nābhasa*[396], *nābhasī*[397], *nāgara*[398], *naidhana*[399], *nārasiṁha*[400], *pādma*[401], *paitāmaha*[402], *pārameśvara*[403], *pārameśvarī*[404], *pāyasī*[405], *pauruṣa*[406], (*pauruṣeṇa prayatnena*), *pauṣpī*[407], *prāhrādī*[408], *sāhakārī*[409], *saiṁha*[410], *śākrī*[411], *śāṁbhava*[412], *sāṁsārī*[413], *sāmudra*[414], *sāmudrī*[415], *sānātana*[416], *sāṁdhya*[417], *śāṁkara*[418], *śārīra*[419], *sārṣapa*[420], *sārvī*[421], *saugatī*[422], *saura*[423], *taijasa*[424], *taijasī*[425], *tāmasī*[426], *tāpana*[427], *tauṣārī*[428] *vaibudhī*[429], *vaiṇavī*[430], *vairiñca*[431], *vaiṣṇava*[432], *vaiṣṇavī*[433], *vārkṣī*[434], *vāyavī*[435], *yākṣī*[436], *yāmuna*[437], *yauvana*[438], all from *abja, indu, indra, indriya amara, ambhoda, amṛta, anila, antar, arka, ṛṣi, asura, uśanas, ayas, avastu, badara, bṛhaspati, bhṛgu, brahman, divasa, jagat, kalabha, kṛśānu, kataka, kusuma, lavaṇa, lavaṇasindhu, madirā, madhu, magadha, mahendra, meru, manas, muni, nabhas, nagara, nidāgha, niśā, narasiṁha, pitāmaha, paramātman, parameśvara,*

*payas, puruṣa, puṣpa, prahrāda, sahakāra, siṁha, śakra, śaṁbhu, saṁsāra, samudra, sanātana, saṁdhyā, śaṁkara, śarad, śarīra, sarṣapa, sarva, sugata, sūrya, tejas, tamas, tapana, tuṣāra, vibudha, veṇu, viriñca, viṣṇu, vṛkṣa, vasiṣṭha, vāyu, yakṣa, yamunā and yuvan respectively.*

The study does not include the *ka* (*kan*)-ending *taddhita* formations, these having already been noticed earlier.

The work has a few words in the sense of *samūha*, group. Three of these, *pādāta*[439], a group of foot soldiers, *vāna*[440], a group of forests and *yauka*[441], a swarm of lice, are formed from *padāti*, *vana*, and *yūkā*; *pādāta* with *aṇ* by Pāṅ. *bhikṣādibhyo'ṇ* (4. 2. 38), and *vāna* and *yauka* by *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *tasya samūhaḥ* (4.2.37). The same number is found with different suffixes: *hāstika*[442] a herd of elephants, formed from *hastin+ṭhak* (*ika*), vide Pāṇ. *acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak* (4. 2. 47), *kānanīya*[443], a group of forests, formed from *kānana+cha* (*īya*) by Pāṇ, *vṛddhāc chaḥ* (4.2.114) and *tṛṇya*[444], a heap of straw, formed from *tṛṇa+ya*, vide Pāṇ. *pāśādibhyo yaḥ* (4.2.49).

In the sense of *bhāva*, nature, words are formed with a number of suffixes. The most numerous being formed with *syañ* enjoined by Pāṇ. *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca* ( 5. 1. 124), e.g., *aikātmya*[445], *āndhya*[446] *auṣṇya*[447], *bālya*[448], *bārhaspatī*[449], *brāhmaṇya*[450], *dainya*[451], *dārḍhya*[452], *daurbhāgya*[453], *dauḥsthitya*[454], *kāruṇya*[455], *māndya*[456], *maurkhya*[457], *naibiḍya*[458], *naikaṭya*[459], *pāṇḍitya*[460], *paunaḥpunya*[461], *prasaugandhya*[462], *saubhāgya*[463], *saugandhya*[464], *śauklya*[465], *sauṣirya*[466], *sāyujya*[467], *staimitya*[468], *sthairya*[469], *svāsthya*[470], *taikṣṇya*[471], *taimirya*[472], *vaidhurya* [473], *'vaipaścitī*[474], *vaiphalya*[475], *vaitṛṣṇya*[476], *vaivaśya*[477] and *vaiyarthya*[478] formed from *ekātman, andha, uṣṇa, bāla, bṛhaspati, brāhmaṇa, dīna, durbhagą, duḥsthita, karuṇa, manda, mūrkha, nibiḍa, nikaṭa, paṇḍita, punaḥpunaḥ, prasugandha, subhaga, sugandha, śukla, suṣira, sayuj, stimita, sthira, svastha, tīkṣṇa, timira, vidhura, vikala, vipaścit, viphala, vitṛṣṇa, vivaśa*, and *vyartha* respectively.

In the word *bālya*[479] *ṣyañ* is added in the sense of *karma*, *bālya* = *balikarma*, which means in effect *āhāra*, food. *Ṣyañ* here, too, is by Pāṇ. *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca* (5. 1. 124).

The word *śaiśava*[480], childhood, also has the sense of *bhāva*. The suffix here is *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt* (5.1.131.).

Next in frequency to *ṣyañ* in the sense of *bhāva* are found used in the work the suffixes *tal* and *tva*. The words with *tal*: *acopatā*[481], *ahaṁtā*[482], *amāvāsyārthatā*[483], *ambutā*[484], *ātmīyatā*[485], *āvartāditā*[486], *daṇḍatā*[487], *digdhatā*[488], *dīnatā*[489], *dvitā*[490], *duḥkhitā*[491], *jagattā*[492], *kartṛtā*[493], *khaṇḍatā*[494], *kheditā*[495], *niścittā*[496], *paratā*[497], *pelavatā*[498], *pīnatā*[499], *pīvaratā*[500], *prakaṭatā*[501], *reṇutā*[502], *sādhutā*[503], *śailatā*[504], *samadṛṣṭitā*[505], *śataśākhatā*[506], *sāṁśokitā*[507], *sāmyatā*[508], *śokitā*[509], *svāgatatā*[510], *sukhitā*[511], *tamastā*[512], *vātsavyatā*[513], *viśrāmatā*[514], *vyasanitā*[515], and *yuvatā*[516] formed from *acopa, aham, amāvāsyārtha, ambu, ātmīya, āvartādi, daṇḍa, digdha, dīna, dvi, duḥkhin, jagat, kartṛ, khaṇḍa, khedin, niścit, para, pelava, pīna, pīvara, prakaṭa, reṇu, sādhu, śaila, samadṛṣṭi, śataśākha, saṁśokin, sāmya, śokin, svāgata, sukhin, tamas, vāstavya, viśrāma, vyasanin,* and *yuvan* respectively.

The words with *tva*: *ahaṁtva*[517], *āryātva*[518], *asahyatva*[519], *ekatva*[520], *mattva*[521], *sāpekṣatva*[522], *tvantva*[523] and *vartamānatva*[524], formed respectively from *aham, āryā, asahya, eka, mat, sāpekṣa, tvam* and *vartamāna*.

In the sense of *bhāva*, residing therein, the words are found in the work with a number of suffixes: With *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53): *hārda*[525] (from *hṛdaya*), *mādhyāhna*[526] (from *madhyāhna*), *nāraka*[527] (from *naraka*) and *sāṁdhya*[528] (from *saṁdhyā*). With the same *aṇ* but by a different *sūtra hāyanāntayuvādibhyo'ṇ* (6.1.130) is formed: *sauhārda*[529] (from *suhṛd*). With *ṭhañ* by the Vārttika *adhyātmādeṣ ṭhañ iṣyate* are formed: *āṁśika*[530], *aurdhvadehika*[531], *daivikī*[532], *pāramātmikī*, *sāṁsārikī*[533], *sāttvikī*[534], and *vyāvahārika*[535] (from *aṁśa, ūrdhvadeha, deva, saṁsāra, sattva* and *vyavahāra* respectively), formed with other suffixes are: *bāhya*[536], with *yañ* by the Vārttika

*bahiṣaṣ ṭilopo yañ ca* under Pān. 4.1.85; *pāścātya*[537], with *tyak* by Pāṇ. *dakṣiṇāpaścāt purasas tyak* (4.2.98); *vanya*[538], with *yat* by Pāṇ. *digādibhyo yat* (4.3.54).

In the sense of *vikāra*, modification, the majority of the words formed are with *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *tasya vikāraḥ* (4.3.134): *aurṇa*[539], woolen (from *ūrṇā+aṇ*), *haima*[540] and *saurvarṇa*[541] or *sauvarṇī*[542], golden (from *heman+aṇ* and *suvarṇa+aṇ* respectively), *tārṇa*[543], made of straw (from *tṛṇa+aṇ*). There are two other commonly used words also with the sufixes *aṇ* and *añ*. They are *kānaka*[544] made of gold which has *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *kopadhāc ca* (4. 3. 137) and *tāntava*[545], made of thread, which has *aṇ* by Pāṇ. or *añ* (4. 3. 139).

The word *āvika*[546] and *mārga*[547] have *aṇ* added to *avì* (which must have *svārthe ka* and be *avika* for purposes of addition of a suffix according to the *aviravikanyāya*) and *mṛga* in the sense of *avayava*, part, vide Pāṇ. *avayave ca prāṇyauṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ* (4.3.135). Both denote the flesh which is the *avayava*, part , of the respective animals ram or sheep and deer.

Of the *matvarthīya* or possessive suffixes *ini* and *ṭhan* Pāṇ. *ata iniṭhanau* ( 5.2.115), *ini* is found in *dhanin*[548], wealthy (from *dhana*), *jālin*[549], having a net (from *jāla*), *pāpin*[550] sinner (from *pāpa*) and *vivekin*[551], discriminating, judicious (from *viveka*) and *ṭhan* in *śāmbarika*[552] from *śambara* and *timirika*[553] from *timira*, with *itac*, by Pāṇ. *tadasya saṁjātaṁ tārakādibhya itac* (5.2.36) is found words like *jālakita*[554] latticed (from *jālaka*), *ṭakaṭakita*[555], clanked (from *ṭakaṭaka*) and *tārakita*[556], (from *tāraka*).

Of the words each in a different sense and with a different suffix mention may be made of *āgneyī*[557], belonging to or residing in *agni*, formed from *agni+ḍhak*, vide the *Vārttika prāgdīvyatīyeṣu taddhitārtheṣu sarvatrāgnikalibhyāṁ ḍhag vaktavyaḥ* under Pāṇ. *agner ḍhak* (4.2.33), *aindriya*[558] that which can be grasped with senses (*indriyair grāhyaḥ*), formed from *indriya+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *śeṣe* (4.2.92), *āmbikeya*[559], son of *Ambikā* Kārttikeya, formed from *ambikā+ḍhak*, (4.1.12)), *daiṣṭika*[560], that has Destiny as a cause for appearance, formed from *diṣṭa+ṭhak*, vide Pāṇ. *astināstidiṣṭaṁ matiḥ* (4.4.60), *dantura*[561], with high or

protruding teeth or figuratively, overspread, covered with, formed from *danta+urac*, vide Pāṇ. *danta unnata urac* (5.2.106), *dharmya*[562], lawful, formed from *dharma+yat*, vide Pāṇ. *dharmapathyarthanyāyād anapete* (4.4.92), *lokya*[563], good for the people, formed from *loka+yat*, vide Pāṇ. *tasmai hitam* (5.1.5.), *maitra*[564], relating to *mitra*, friend, formed from *mitra+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *śeṣe* (4. 2. 92), *mārga*[565], of the deer species (*mṛga-jātīya*), formed from *mṛga+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *śeṣe* (4.2.92), *naidāghī*, of the summer, formed from *nidāgha+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo 'ṇ* (4.3.16), *naiśa*[566], nocturnal, formed from *niśā+aṇ* vide Pāṇ. *niśāpradoṣābhyām ca* (4.3.14), *pārvatī*[567], of the mountain formed from *parvata+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *vibhāṣā 'manuṣye* (4.2.144), *śārada*[568], *autumnal*, formed from *śarad+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo 'ṇ* (4.3. 16), *sārva*[569] (*sarvasmai hitam*), good for everybody, formed from (5.1.10). *straiṇa*[570], feminine, formed from *strī+nañ*, vide Pāṇ. ... *bhavanāt* (4.1.87), *svāpnapura*[571]

sarva+ṇa, vide Pāṇ. sarvapuruṣābhyāṁ ṇaḍhañau

... om ... an ... 3.), ... ak, vide Pāṇ. *vibhāṣā vivadhāt* (4.4.17), *vārṣikī*[574], annual, formed from *varṣa+ṭhak* vide Pāṇ. *varṣābhyaṣ ṭhak* (4.3.18), *vāsiṣṭhī*[575] (*vāsiṣṭhīḥ girah*) (words) uttered (*proktāḥ*) by Vasiṣṭha, formed from *vasiṣṭha+aṇ*, vide Pāṇ. *śeṣe* (4.2.92), *vāyavya*[576] the wind, formed from *vāyu+yat*, vide Pāṇ. *digādibhyo yat* (4.3.54), *yāṣṭīka*[577], having club as the weapon, (*yaṣṭiḥ praharaṇam asya*), formed from *yaṣṭi+īkak*, vide Pāṇ. *śaktiyaṣṭyor īkak* (4.4.59).

As is well known, not all the *taddhita* suffixes are added in any additional sense. Suffixes of this type are called *svārthikas*, i.e. added in the sense of the *prakṛti*, base, itself. A couple of instances of them may well be noted here: *aupayogika*[578], which is the same as *upayoga*, utility, usefulness (*upayoga+ṭhak*), *kārṣṇya*[579], which is the same as *kṛṣṇa*, dark (*kṛṣṇa+ṣyañ*), *mākara*[580] which is the same as *makara*, crocodile, (*makara+aṇ*),

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## 13. Un-pāṇinian Forms

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* betrays the deep grammatical acumen of its author in the many complex grammatical constructions throughout the work. In the light of this, it should be quite interesting to note the numerous ungrammatical formations that occur in that work. The commentator explains these away by saying that they are *ārṣa*-usages. The sages and seers are not bound, as ordinary people are, to observe strictly and with meticulous care the rules of grammar (cf. *niyogaparya-nuyogānarhā maharṣayaḥ vākṣvatantrāḥ*). But this is not the whole truth. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, as it exists today, cannot claim for itself such an antiquity and sanctity as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, nor can it be said to have come out of Vālmīki's mouth as tradition would have it. From the mass of evidence that has come to light recently it is possible to say that this work could not be Vālmīki's. It must be the creation of some anonymous poet who appeared rather late on the Indian horizon and shone there brilliantly. He was a master-poet. Language presented him with no difficulty. He could wield it with the utmost ease. With such firm grip over the medium he could not be expected to permit himself grammatical aberrations. Moreover, he belonged to the classical age when poets and playwrigths followed grammatical rules strictly. Any deviation from them was frowned upon by connoisseurs of literature. The existence of the numerous ungrammatical forms in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* would, therefore, be perplexing and could be explained only in two ways: One, wherever these are found, those passage are later interpolations. The singers and rhapsodists while reciting older works often introduce their own verses which, more often than not, are impromptu. In such circumstances, there was little scope for pausing and looking to the grammatical niceties, since the verses would be as rapidly uttered as they were composed. Two, they are tempted to impart a touch of antiquity to the work which otherwise would have a modern look. This would also appear to be the purpose of some prose passages which are interspersed in

the work, which, as in the *Bhāgavata* verses, have a good sprinkling of Vedic words. Whatever be the explanation for the un-pāṇinian forms, they are very much in evidence in the work and due notice, therefore, of them needs to be taken.

## Sandhi

*Sandhi* is sometimes ignored where according to grammatical rules it should take place. There is arbitrary hiatus in a number of places.

## Savarṇa-Sandhi

i. *namaskṛtya guruṁ prāha antike vinayānvitaḥ* ।[595]
ii. *tenety ukte mayāpy uktaṃ Bhagavan viddhi īdṛśam* ।[596]
iii. *tayā anādiḥ sādiś cety avidyety anubhūyate* ।[597]
iv. *rāmecchā nāma kariṇī idaṁ me'stv itirūpiṇī* ।[598]
v. *asadābhāsa evātmā ananto bharitākṛtiḥ* ।[599]
vi. *naproktam ākarnayati īkṣate na purogatam* ।[600]

## Yaṇ-Sandhi

The following are examples of the absence of *Yaṇ-sandhi*:

i. *saphalatām phalate bhuvi karmaṇām*
*prakaṭatāṃ kila gacchati uttamām* ।[601]
ii. *ciccandrikā caturdikṣu avabhāsaṁ vitanvatī* ।[602]
iii. *varatvaṁ varaśāpābhyām iti antaḥ kva tiṣṭhati* ।[603]
iv. *devā ūcur ayaṁ devi upahārīkṛto'mbike* ।[604]
v. *kvacicchatramayāṅgāni ekībhūtāni bhūpate* ।[605]
vi. *gagane nirmale yāti analo vaidyuto yathā* ।[606]
vii. *mano yat karoti tat kṛtaṁ bhavati yan na karoti tan na kṛtaṁ bhavati ato mana eva kartṛ na dehaḥ* ।[607]
viii. *tadyathāsthitam evāstu iha ity astavāsanam* ।[608]

In the following examples '*e*' does not change into 'ay' even though it followed by a vowel:

1. *saṅkalpe ca manorājye iti me vada rāghava* ।[609]
2. *upaśānte hi saṅkalpe upaśāntam idaṃ bhavet* ।[610]
3. *śūnye eva śarīre'smin vilolo jalajātavat* ।[611]
4. *citsvabhāve yathā svapne āste sarga iveha yaḥ* ।[612]
5. *pūrvoktāḥ sarva evaite upadeśaviśesaṇāḥ* ।[613]

6. *tadicchayāśu tadrūpā bahurūpāś ca te ita* ।[614]
7. *sarvage svātmani svacche eṣo'ham iti bhāvanā* ।[615]
8. *na jāyate na mriyate iha kiñcit kadācana* ।[616]
9. *vistaraḥ kriyate sadbhir upādeye iti sthitiḥ* ।[617]

## Guṇa-Sandhi

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* there are many instances of the absence of *Guṇa-sandhi* as may be seen from the following examples:

1. *prapañcapatanārambhaṁ pramattasya idam jagat* ।[618]
2. *gandharvanagarākārā mṛgatṛṣṇā ivotthitā* ।[619]
3. *gandharva-udyānam iva tasmiñ jagati bhaviṣyati gagane kalpanayā nagaratāṁ janayati* ।[620]

Of the above examples of the absence of *Guṇa-sandhi* the third one is important. For, here, the *sandhi* is absent even in the body of the compound *gandharva-udyāna*. We have the clear rule that *sandhi* is compulsory within a word, between the preposition and the root and in a compound form:

> *saṁhitaikapade nityā nityā dhātūpasargayoḥ* ।
> *nityā samāse, vākye tu sā vivakṣām apekṣate* ॥

The absence of *sandhi* in the compound form *gandharva-udyāna*, is, therefore, inexcusable. This is a laxity which is never permitted in Sanskrit. As for the other examples of hiatus shelter might be taken behind the permissive provision which leaves the decision to resort to *sandhi* or not to the sweet will of the speaker as far as a sentence is concerned (*vakye tu sā vivakṣām apekṣate*) even though the fact of the matter is that even in a sentence convention makes *sandhi* compulsory. From the earliest Vedic writings down to the 18th century productions, this option has seldom, if at all, been exercised. A modern interpreter of Sanskrit grammar has very lucidly brought out the inner significance of this option with a clear analysis of its background.[621] According to him, this option is limited (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). There is difference between *sandhi* and *saṃhitā*. Saṃhitā has been defined by Pāṇini himself as *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ*, the closest proximity of letters (sounds). When the letters are thus in closest proximity (*saṁhitā*), *sandhi* (euphonic combination) takes place. Now, it is

left to the discretion of the speaker to give the pause, where necessary. He may not resort to *sandhi* if he intends a pause. If the speaker does not pause, *sandhi* must take place. The option for *sandhi* is thus reduced to the minimum, for in one sentence where words are in construction with each other, there is no scope for pause and consequently there is no option for *sandhi*. This option in the matter of *sandhi* in a sentence as enunciated in the *kārikā* is very much misunderstood these days. It was seldom exercised in olden times. Not only was *sandhi* always resorted to in one sentence-unit, it took place even between words of two different sentence-units: as for example, in *tiṣṭhatu dadhy aśāna tvaṁ śākena* where *dadhi* and *aśāna* belong to two different sentences. Yet this does not stand in the way of the *yaṇ-sandhi* taking place between the final and the preceding vowels of the two words respectively. *Sandhi* in a sentence, therefore, in effect, becomes more or less compulsory and the absence of it is neither favoured by grammarians nor supported by usage. The absence of *sandhi*, therefore, in some of the examples of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is against the genius of Sanskrit. Usage does not permit it. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* too have many instances of it. So have the Purāṇas. But they are never accepted as regular. This irregularity is, however, sought to be covered up by pronouncing them to be *ārṣa*, the sublime sages being above the ordinary rules of grammar. But a modern critic, no less reverential than the ancients, cannot but note all these irregularities and put them down as such.

## Absence of Vṛddhi-sandhi

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* there are instances where *vṛddhi* is due, but has not been effected, *e.g.*:

*iti bhāvitayā buddhyā te dvijā atha ainduvāḥ* [622]

## Absence of Prakṛtibhāva

Words in the dual number ending in 'ī', 'ū' , and 'e' are termed *pragṛhya*. Such *pragṛhya* words remain unaffected when

followed by vowels, i.e. there is no *sandhi*. This is known as *prakṛtibhāva*. This is the meaning of the *sūtra* of Pāṇini, *plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* (6.1.125.). Disregard of this rule is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse: *ahaṅkāradṛśāv ete sāttvike dvetinirmale*,[623] where the dual *dve* is combined with *atinirmale*. The absence of the *prakṛtibhāva* here is an irregularity. The commentator explains it away as *ārṣa*.

## Irregular Hal-sandhi

There are many kinds of irregularities of the *hal-sandhi*. First, *sthitaḥ* and *āndhrāṇām* are combined in *sandhi* to form a highly irregular *sthito'ndhrāṇām*.[624] The *s* of *sthitas* which is turned into *r* (*ru*) cannot be changed to *u*, for, that change takes place only if *r* (*ru*) is followed by a short vowel or by a consonant included in the *haś-pratyāhāra*. Since the *r* cannot be substituted by *u* we cannot have the form *sthito* by Pāṇini *ādguṇaḥ* (6.1.87). When *sthito* itself is not possible then there is no scope for *pūrvarūpa*, for according to Pāṇini, *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* (6.1.109), *pūrvarūpa* (regressive assimilation) takes place only if *e* and *o*, the finals of a *pada*, are followed by *a*. Here, we have *ā* and not *a*. *Sthito'ndhrāṇām*, therefore, is wrong. It should be *sthita āndhrāṇām*, the *r* (*ru*) being first changed to *y* and then dropped by Pāṇini, *lopaḥ śākalyasya* (8.3.19). The expression *sthito'ndhrāṇām* on account of its irregular sandhi reminds us of the Upaniṣadic text, *gūḍhotmā na prakāśate* (*Kaṭha*.) where *gūḍhotmā* is used for the regular *gūḍha ātmā*.

In the verse, *avāsanaṁ mano kartṛpadaṁ tasmād avāpyate*[625] (V. 56.18) the *sandhi* is wrong. It cannot be *mano* kartṛpadam. It should be *manaḥ kartṛpadam*, for the *s* in *manas* will first be changed to *ru* and then to *visarga* followed by *khar*.

Another case which in its irregularity resembles very much *sthito'ndhrāṇām* is found in the verse *Vasiṣṭhādyāś ca munayo ṛṣayo brāhmaṇās tathā*,[626] where *y* in place of the *r* (*ru*) of *munayas* (which has its *s* changed to *r*) is not dropped by *Pāṇini lopaḥ śākalyasya* (8.3.19). Instead, it is substituted by *u* which when combined with the preceding *a* in *y* has given us *munayo*

even though it is followed by *r*, a semi-vowel, not included in the *haś-pratyāhāra*. Exactly the same thing has been done in *abhyavartata vai kālo ṛtusaṁvatsarātmakaḥ*,[627] where *o* irregularly appears before *ṛ*.

It will not be out of place to mention here the reverse case where *o* which should normally be present is omitted. In the verse, *dūrvāṅkurāsvādanagītiniṣṭha ahan kaniṣṭhe vanavāsimadhye*,[628] the proper *sandhi* should have been ... *gītiniṣṭo 'han*. We have yet another irregular *hal-sandhi* in *manotthena* occurring in the verse, *cirasāmyāt manotthena nirvibhāgavilāsinā*[629]. Here the irregularity in the form has resulted from the author's disregard for Pāṇini's dictum, *pūrvatrāsiddham* (8.2.1). The two words *manas* and *uttha* form an ablative *Tatpuruṣa* compound. With regular *sandhi*, the form should have been *manautthena*.

## Irregular Visarga-sandhi

In the expression *tamacchannavivekārtham* found in the verse, *tamacchannavivekārthaṁ lolakajjalamecakam* (V. 54.43), the proper form should be *tamaścchannavivekārtham*. The *s* of *tamas* should first be changed to *ru* and then to *visarga*. This *visarga* has then to be converted into *e* obligatorily by Pāṇini 8.3.34, and later changed to *s* by Pāṇini 8.4.4.

It is just possible that some of the examples of the irregular *sandhi*, especially the irregular *Visarga-sandhi* or *Hal-sandhi* quoted above, may be no more than spelling mistakes or scribal errors. Texts get corrupted in various ways in course of time. There is an interesting verse in the *Mahābhārata-Tātparya-Nirṇaya* of Ānandatīrtha, wherein he enumerates the various facton which lead to the corruption of a text:

> *kvacid granthān parkṣipanti kvacid antaritān api* ।
> *kuryuḥ kvacic ca vyatyāsaṁ pramādāt kvacid anyathā* ॥[630]

It says that interpolations, omissions and transpositions in the original texts, either through ignorance or otherwise lead to the corruption of texts. It may be that the text of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has got corrupted on account of one or other of these causes.

## Compounds

The entire chapter on compounds in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is prefaced by the *sūtra*, *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2.1.1), which in effect governs it. It lays down the principle on the formation of compounds. It specifies that only those words which are connected in sense enter into a compound. Connection in sense or *sāmarthya* is, therefore, the condition precedent for all compound formation in Sanskrit. Yet instances are not wanting where words un-connected in sense are compounded; these are termed *Asamartha-samāsas*.

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* one striking irregularity in compound formation is the *Avyayībhāva* compound where the indeclinables are placed after the substantives with which they are compounded, while the proper thing would be for these indeclinables to precede the substantives. The following are illustrations in point:

i. *prāṇyaṅgeṣv api jāyante vicitrāḥ kakubhaṁ prati* ।
*sthāvareṣv api jāyante ghuṇā jaghanakādayaḥ* ॥[631]

ii. *diśam prati girīndreṣu pulindād vā vane vane* ।[632]

iii. *iti sañcintya vidhinā dinãntena dinaṁ prati* ।[633]

iv. *pratigrāmaṁ puram prati* ।[634]

v. *tatra puṣpalatājālaiḥ kāṇḍaṁ prati śilāṅkitaiḥ* ।[635]

In these examples the proper compound forms should have been *pratikakubham* (or *pratikakup*), *pratidiśam*, *pratidinam* etc. That the above forms with *prati* are compounds goes without saying, for, if they were not, the words such as *kakubham* in construction with *prati* in the sense *vīpsā* would have to be repeated as required by the rule *nityavīpsayoḥ* (8.1.4).

Another irregular compound form in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is *śāntamāsevī* in the verse *saṁvīttyā kiṁ śramārto'smi śāntamāsevi mānasam*[636] for the regular *śāntāsevi*.

Now, coming to the *asamartha* compounds we find that there are two prominent examples of it in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*:

i. *diṣṭyā raghūṇāṁ tanayasaṁjñaḥ pāvitavān asi* ।[637]

ii. *iti śṛṇvan sabhāṁ loko vismayotphullalocanaḥ* ।
*kusumāsārasampūrṇaṁ rājīvānāṁ dadarśa tam* ॥[638]

In the first example the words *tanaya* and *saṃjña* are compounded, while from considerations of sense the word *tanaya* is connected with *raghūṇām*. The word *raghūṇām* should, therefore, be compounded with *tanaya* and this compound-word *Raghutanaya* should be further compounded with the word *saṁjña*, the meaning of the compound being *Raghutanaya iti saṃjña yasya sa Raghutanaya-saṃjñaḥ*. In the second example *rājīvānām* is connected with *kusuma* in sense. It cannot, therefore, remain outside the compound. The *samartha* words should be compounded. The normal compound formation should, therefore, be *rājīvakusumasārasampūrṇam*.

## Kārakas

Sanskrit grammar restricts the use of certain cases in relation to certain roots. Thus, for example, only the dative case is to be used with a noun (or pronoun) in relation with the object of the roots *dā*, *ruc* and *svad* or the synonyms thereof. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, however, does not follow invariably the rule. It uses *ṣaṣṭhī* in place of the normal *caturthī* as may be seen from the following examples:

i. *sarvāvasthāgatānāṁ tu jīvanmuktim pradāsyati*। [639]
ii. *prasaraṁ tvam avidyāyā mā prayaccha raghūdvaha*। [640]
iii. *lavaṇasya tathā dattvā tām āpadam anuttamām*। [641]
iv. *rājasūyakriyākartuḥ paśya dattvā mahāpadam*। [642]
v. *vyādhasya kāmanāṁ dātuṁ Padmajanmā samāyayau*। [643]
vi. *muniḥ śāpam adāt tasya mahākāratayāśramaḥ*। [644]
vii. *tṛṇāder devakāyāntān mā kiñcit tava rocatām*। [645]
viii. *ayaṁ nāma bhaved bhartā he tāta tava rocatām*। [646]
ix. *na svadante sutṛptasya yathā prativiṣā rasāḥ*। [647]
x. *svapnā iva parijñātā na svadante vivekinaḥ*। [648]
xi. *kasya svadante satyāni*। [649]
xii. *svadante yasya vastūni svadate sa na kasya ca*। [650]

## Nouns

Even in the case of nouns there are certain irregularities. Either the wrong case-affixes are used with them or the case-affixes are not used at all. Thus in the verse *sthiramaṃinibham*

*ambho vāriṇī vārinīle*,[651] *variṇī* is in construction with the locative singular *vārinīle*; the correct form would be *vāriṇi*. *Vāriṇī* is evidently wrong. The lengthening is perhaps due to metrical exigency. The author of the verse, like so many classical writers, seems to be a believer in the dictum, *api māṣaṁ maṣaṁ kuryāc chandobhaṅge tyajed giram*. The commentator seems to read *vāriṇe* for *variṇī*. He attempts to explain it as made of *vā* in the sense of *yathā* and *ariṇo* things like swords having a sharp edge (*ara*). This is a feat of ingenuity. *Arin* in the given sense is obscure. *Vā*, if a *nipāta* in the sense of *yathā*, is also misplaced. It ought to have come after *ariṇaḥ*. It must be conceded that with the reading *vāriṇi* too, the following *vāri* (loc. of *vār*) is redundant.

A case where no case-affix has been used with a word is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse *tatas teṣv atiramyeṣu candraraśmiṣu sampatat*. The word *sampatat* is here without any case-affix. Since it has to go with *candraraśmiṣu*, which is locative plural, the locative plural suffix *su* should be used with *sampatat*. It should be *sampatatsu*. No word without any case-affix can be used in a sentence (*apadaṁ na prayuñjīta*). There is no justification for the omission of the suffix.

## Kṛdantas

Among the *kṛdantas*, *jighraṇa*, used by the author, is manifestly wrong. A strange aspect of it is that it is used side by side with *ghrāṇa*, as for example, in *tvagbhāvaṁ sparśanād eti ghrāṇatām eti jighraṇāt* (III. 110.18). *Jighra* is substituted for *ghrā* only when it is followed by a *seṭ pratyaya*.[652] Now, in the word *jighraṇa*, it is followed by *lyuṭ* which is not *seṭ*. Here, therefore, *ghrā* cannot be replaced by *jighra*. The correct word should have been *ghrāṇāt*.

Another *kṛdanta* word which presents some difficulty is *cañcūra*.[653] It is from the intensive form of the root √*car* with the suffix *ac* by Pāṇini 3.1.134, the derivation being *cañcūryate iti cañcuram*. The *ū* in inexplicable. Hence the commentator's remark, *chāndaso dīrghaḥ*.

Pāṇini clearly lays down that the *kṛdanta* suffix *ktvā* is to be replaced by *lyap* (*ya*) when the *kṛdanta* form enters into a compound with an indeclinable other than *nañ*, giving us a *Gati-samāsa*. The presence of a preposition (*pra*, *parā*, etc.) or a word termed *gati* is, therefore, the necessary condition when *ktvā* can be replaced by *lyap*. In the epics and the Purāṇas there is no dearth of such usage. It is pointed out by Mm. Pt. Shiva Ḍatta Shastri, annotator of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, that in the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* (ascribed to Pāṇini) the line *sandhyākarān gṛhya kareṇa bhānuḥ* occurs, wherein we have the *lyabanta* form *gṛhya* without any *pūrvapada*. There are instances in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* when the *lyap* appears even without a preposition coming before the root. Some such cases are:

i. *vyāpnoti tailam iva vāriṇi vārya śaṅkām।*[654]
ii. *śirasā dhārya sarvātmā sarvān prāha ghṛṇānidhiḥ।*[655]
iii. *dehākāśam iha sthāpya dhyāneneha yathāsthitam।*[656]
iv. *sa tatropāviśad vṛttīś cetasas tanutām nayan।*
*antaḥśuddhavapuḥ sṛṅge vṛṣya mūka ivāmbudaḥ।।*[657]
v. *āśāśatāvapūrṇatve tvam evam sarvaduḥkhadam।*
*tyajya yāhi paraṁ śreyaḥ param ekāntasundaram ।।*[658]

There are also instances of the reverse tendency where the suffix *ktvā* coming after a root is replaced by *lyap* even though it (the root) is preceded by a preposition. The following are noted by way of illustration:

i. *śarīram asthiram api santyaktvā ghanaśobhanam ।*
*vītamuktāvalītantum cinmātram avalokayet ।।*[659]
ii. *samūlam api santyaktvā vyoma saumyapraśāntadhīḥ ।*
*yas tvam bhavasi sadbuddhe sa bhavān astu satkṛtaḥ ।।*[660]

The correct form in both the verses would be *santyajya*.

Among the other irregular *kṛdanta* forms mention may be made of *jahran* in the verse *nīlān acalakākolān jahran salilajālakaiḥ*.[661] The present participle form from √*hṛ* is *haran* and not *jahran*. The re-duplication here is irregular. The commentator offers the explanation *harateḥ śatuś chāndaso liḍvadbhāvaḥ*, that is, *śatṛ* coming after √*hṛ* irregularly is treated as a perfect suffix and thus re-duplication appears here.

The absence of the augment *muk* by Pāṇini *āne muk* (7.3.82) is the irregularity in the form *cintayānam* found in the verse *sarvastham cintayānaṁ tu nityadhyāne'tha bhārgavaḥ.*[662] The regular form here should have been *cintayamānam*. The non-addition of this augment to the *a*-ending stems is a phenomenon which is very frequent in the epics and the Purāṇas. It appears that this augment came to be dropped in the case of some roots of the Tenth conjugation.

The past participle form *praṇaṣṭha*[663] from the root *naś* with the preposition *pra* is irregular in that the *ṇ* appears in the word although Pāṇini clearly rules against it. The rule *naśeḥ ṣāntasya* (8.4.36) prohibits *ṇatva* otherwise due by the *sūtra*, *upasargād asamāse'pi ṇopadeśasya* (8.4.14).

Another *kṛdanta* form which has nothing wrong so far as its *kṛt* suffix is concerned but which is nevertheless irregular in other respects is *hṛṣyatīḥ* used the verse:

> *kaccit kalamakedārakoṇasthāneṣu hṛṣyatīḥ* ।
> *pratigrāmam kumāryas te gāyanty ānandanaṁ yaśaḥ* ॥[664]

The feminine form of the present participle form *hṛṣyat* should be *hṛṣyantī* and in the nominative plural the form should have been *hṛṣyantyaḥ* for the sake of concord, the noun qualified, *kumāryaḥ*, being plural. The irregularity lies first in omitting the augment *num* and then in adding a wrong case-suffix.

The form *jāgṛti* is very much in vogue these days. It has come to be aepted as a correct form while the fact is that it is not. *Guṇa* is inevitable here. It is enjoined by Pāṇini 7.3.85. The proper form should be *jāgarti*. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses this in the verse *jāgratsvapnaś ciram rūḍho jāgṛtāv eva gacchatti*[665]. The form *jāgarti*, it may be pointed out, is not from √*jāgṛ* with *ktin*, but with *ktic*, for *ktin* is superseded by *a* as ordained by the *vārttika*, *jāgarter akāro vā*.

Another *kṛdanta* form which is very popular these days and which has very frequently been used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is *viśrāma*. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita definitely declares it to be an un-Pāṇinian form. Says he, *viśrāma iti tu apāṇinīyam*. Vide his

comment on Pāṇini *sūtra*, *nodāttopadeśasya māntasyānācameḥ* (7.3.34). The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* reads *viśrāma* thrice:

i. *śrānto viśrāma āyātaḥ kṣīṇacittabhavabhramaḥ*[666]
ii. *aty ahaṁ śramito deva kṣaṇaṁ viśrāmatāṁ gataḥ*[667]
iii. *viśrāmāṇām anantānąṁ sīmantę bandhu-darśanam*[668]

The Pāṇinian form is *viśrama* and not *viśrāma*. A word may be termed correct if it has been used by master-writers or authorities on the language even though it may not be sanctioned by grammar. Viewed in this light *viśrāma* will have to be pronounced as correct for it has been adopted in usage (*vyavahāra*). However, we propose to list all forms which are un-Pāṇinian, though some of them may have been accepted by pre-Pāṇinian grammar or sanctioned by usage.

Along with the word *viśrāma* in one of the verses quoted above[669] is used the obviously indefensible form *śramita*. The √*śram*, though *udāttopadeśa*, is debarred from taking the augment *iṭ* before a *niṣṭhā pratyaya* (*kta* and *ktavatu*) by *yasya vibhāṣā* (Pāṇini 7.2.15). The correct form would, therefore, be *śrānta* and not *śramita*. If justification has to be sought for this form (*sthitasya gatiś cintanīyā*) *śramita* may be looked upon as a form with the suffix *ṇic* add to the root *śram* in the sense of the root itself (*svārthe*). There is, however, nothing unnatural or unusual about it for the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is wont to add to roots the suffix *ṇic* in the *svārtha*-sense. The following are examples where the suffix *ṇic* has been used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the sense of the roots themselves (*svārtha*):

i. *kiṁ karoti kathaṁ dūrvāś carvayaty urvarāspadaḥ*[670]
ii. *bhramanto vīciśṛṅgeṣu makarebhāḥ karotkaṭaiḥ*
*haranti sīkarāmbhodā meghānudrāvitā iva*[671]

In the first example *carvayati* means only *cavati*. In the second *anudrāvita* gives only the sense of *anudruta*.

Just as the suffix *ṇic* appears in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* even where it is not wanted, the reverse tendency is also noticeable, that is, it is not used or, if at all used, is dropped arbitrarily. An interesting example of this is provided by the verse *svāntaṁ hi nahi kenāpi śakyate nāśituṁ kvacit*[672] where the form *nāśitum* is used in place

of the regular *nāśayitum*. The *vṛddhi* here is due to the suffix *ṇic*, which is arbitrarily dropped.

The author shows unusual skill in the use of *taddhita* formations. There are only a few instances where he uses un-Pāṇinian *taddhitānta* forms. One such is *auṣṇyatva* in the verse *auṣṇyatvād eti hy agnitām*[673]. Here *auṣṇya* would do. The suffix *ṣyañ* is added to the word *uṣṇa* in the sense of *bhāva* or being. The suffix *tva* is also added in this very sense[674] and, therefore, one of them is superfluous.

The list of un-Pāṇinian *taddhitānta* words would be incomplete if mention is not made of the word *śārvara* which is not sanctioned by Pāṇini but which has been used by ancient authors like Kālidāsa.[675] The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses this form at least thrice. The verses in which it occurs are:

i. *atha puṇyakṣaye jāte nīhāra iva śārvare* ।[676]
ii. *vilīyate manomohaḥ sacchāstrapravicāraṇāt* ।
*nabhoviharaṇād bhānoḥ śāvaraṃ timiraṁ yathā* ॥[677]
iii. *śārvare timire śānte prātaḥ sandhyām ivāmbujam* ।[678]

According to Pāṇini the suffix *ṭhañ* (*ika*) should come after the word *śarvarī* in the sense of belonging to it (*śarvaryāṁ bhavam*) by the *sūtra*, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* (4.3.11).[679] This would give us the form *śārvarika*.

An illustration of wrong *taddhita* suffix is found in the form *āsmika* used in the verse:

> *iti sañcintya taṁ dehaṁ vidaṃ bhūsattayā'smikam* ।
> *tyaktvā cidātma tat prāṇāt pavane yojito mayā* ॥[680]

The suffix *aṇ* is added to the word *asmāka*; a substitute of *asmad*. The proper form should, therefore, be *āsmāka* or *āsmākīna* and not *āsmika* as used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

An interesting case where the *taddhita* suffix should have been used but is actually not used is found in the verse *bālyayauvanavṛddheṣu duḥkheṣu ca sukheṣu ca*[681]. Uttered in the same breath with *bālya* and *yauvana* which express the first two stages of life, *vṛddha* must also stand for a stage of life, viz. old age. But the suffix expressive of it is wanting. Our author should have used the word *vṛddhatva* ending in the *taddhita* suffix *tva*

in the sense of *bhāva*. But this is nothing strange. Even the great *Ācārya* Pāṇini uses *dvi* and *eka* in place of *dvitva* and *ekatva* in the *sūtra*, *dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane* (1.4.22). Such uses are accepted as good Sanskrit and are called *Bhāvapradhāna-nirdeśa*. The fact of the matter is that such cryptic uses are compelled by considerations of metre or are resorted to with a view to achieving aphoristic brevity. *Sotsukam* for *sautsukyam*, met with elsewhere is an instance in point.

## Gender

The author sometimes uses wrong gender. For example, the word *āsava* which is masculine is used by him as neuter in the verse:

> *pītaṁ carmaṇvatītīre gāyantyā madhurākṣaram* ।
> *pulindyā suratānteṣu nālikerarasāsavam* ॥[682]

It is very rarely that writers disobey the well-known rule of gender, *ghañabantāḥ puṁsi*[683].

As a rule the adjectives follow the number and gender of the words they qualify. But our author often makes a departure from it, for in the verse *nadīṣu kṣepaṇācchāsu varakeṣv abjapaṅktiṣu*[684] he uses the word *varaka* in the masculine, which, however, being an adjective of *abjapaṅkti* should have been used in the feminine. Another case where an adjective has the wrong gender is in the verse *vāsanāprāvṛṣi kṣīṇe saṁsthitau rāmam āgate*[685]. Here the locative singular *kṣīṇe* in the masculine or the neuter gender is in apposition with *prāvṛṣi*, the locative singular of the feminine word *prāvṛṣ*. The correct expression should be *vāsanāprāvṛṣi kṣīṇāyām*. The present case is one on a par with *duhitā kṛpaṇam param* of Manu[686].

A glaring case of wrong gender is found in the verse:

> *sargo vidyata evāyaṁ na yatra kila kiñcana* ।
> *tasya dharmāṇi karmāṇi na caivākṣaramālikā* ॥[687]

Here *dharmāṇi* is used in the neuter. *Dharma* is a masculine word. *Dharmāṇi* is, therefore, manifestly wrong. It should be *dharmāḥ*. Perhaps the author was led to this use because of the

force of the following *karmāṇi*, of this word he said *dharmāṇi*. Or it may be that an earlier Vedic verse *yāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan*[688] where *dharmāṇi* is used in the neuter, was present in the subconscious mind of the writer, and it was on account of this that he permitted himself this use. The form *dharmāṇi* in the Vedic verse is sought to be justified on the basis of *dharma* being one of the *Ardharcādi* words which are used both in the masculine and neuter. In the case of *dharma*, the sense in which it is used also governs the choice of the permissible gender. Commenting on *ardharcāḥ puṁsi ca* (Pāṇini 2.4.31) the author of the *Kāśikā* says: *Dharma* is masculine in the sense of merit but neuter in the sense of means of merit.[689] If in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, too, the word *dharmāṇi* could be interpreted in the sense of *dharmasādhanāni* the use of *dharmāṇi* in the neuter would have been permissible. But obviously this is not the meaning intended here.

A clear case of indefensible gender is in the verse *ajñasyājñatayā deyo jñasya tu jñatayottaraḥ*[690], where the word *uttara* in the sense of 'reply' is used in the masculine. *Uttara*, originally an adjective, meaning later, later, subsequent, was used in earlier literature with the work *vākya* or a synonym thereof, and the two together stood for 'reply'. Later, *vākya* etc. was dropped and *uttara* alone was deemed sufficient to convey the sense.[691] Being an adjective used for a noun, it should not be used in a gender other than the neuter (*sāmānye napuṁsakam*). This is how *uttara* in the sense of 'answer' or 'reply' came to be used regularly in the neuter. As it is, the use of *uttaraḥ* has to be included among cases of wrong gender which are unfortunately not a few in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

It is possible that the text of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, like the texts of most of the earlier Sanskrit works, has suffered in the process of being handed down from generation to generation. And, it is probably because of this that such manifestly wrong forms as *patre ubhau* in the verse *tasmād aṅkurataḥ patre ubhau vikasataḥ svayam*[692] have crept into the work. The word *patra* meaning a leaf is positively neuter. The word *ubha* used as an adjective must,

therefore, follow its gender and number. *Patre ubhau* should, therefore, be *patre ubhe*. The change of *ubha* to *ubhe* does not affect the metre. It may be that the original reading was *ubhe* and here is only a case of scribal error.

According to the *Amarakośa* the gender of the word *sthala* is neuter or feminine,[693] but the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses it in the masculine, as for example, *uḍḍīyamānam ātmānaṁ śilāḥ śailasthalān iva*[694]. Similarly the well-known word *āvaraṇa* which is admittedly neuter is used in masculine in the *Yogavāsiṣṭhaṣ* verse *tāv ivāśritya tiṣṭhanti jalādyāvaraṇās tataḥ*[695]. In the same verse we have the use of the neuter word *krīḍanaka* in the masculine gender:

*tṛṇaṁ tṛṇaṁkalpayati bālāṁ krīanakān iva* ।

*Krīḍanaka* in the masculine is grammatically unjustifiable. In the *yāvādigaṇa* (*Gaṇapāṭha* 196, under Pāṇini 5.4.29) also, we have *krīḍanaka* used in the neuter in the expression *kumārī krīḍanakāni ca*.

Just as in the instances quoted above, the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses some neuter words in the masculine gender, he uses some acknowledgedly masculine words in the neuter gender. Thus, the word *lāja*, which according to the *Amarkośa*, is always to be used in the plural and in the masculine gender,[696] has been used in the neuter gender in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, as may be seen from the verse *sa hutvā tilalājāni pāvakāya śikhidhvajaḥ*[697].

Similar is the use of the masculine word *kumāra* in the neuter in the verse *kadā nu tānīkṣurasābditīre..... drakṣyema bhūyo guḍamodakāni tathā kumārāṇy api śarkarāyāḥ*[698]. *Kumārāṇi* is wrong and it is inconceivable that the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* could commit it. If we assume that the author read *kumārān* only, the form would be perfectly correct, leaving the metre intact. *Kumāra* is used here in the sense of a doll, *kumāra-pratikṛti*. The suffix *kan* ordained by the *sūtra*, *ive pratikṛtau* (Pāṇ. 5.3.96) is dropped by the *sūtra*, *devapathādibhyaś ca* (Pāṇ. 5.3.100). This elision is technically called *lup*; hence the *lubanta* form must take

the gender and number of the base (*kumāra*), which is masculine. Hence *kumārapratikṛtayaḥ kumārāḥ*. The neuter *kumārāṇi* has no justification.

## Verbal Forms

In the case of verbs too, there have been many lapses in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. In the verse quoted above where *kumāra* is used in the wrong gender, we have the verbal form *drakṣyema*. It is palpably wrong. It should either be *paṣyema* if the optative sense is intended, or *drakṣyāmaḥ* if simple futurity is meant. If we substitute *paśyema* for *drakṣyema* the metre is not violated, while *drakṣyāmaḥ* would go against the metre. Strangely enough, in *drakṣyema*, the optative suffix has been added to the future base of √*dṛś*. Such forms occur in the epics and the Puāṇas, but are unheard of in classical literature.

The causal form *kṣipayati* from the root *kṣip*, 'to throw' has been used thrice in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.[699] It appears rather strange that every time this very form should have been used by the author. By Pāṇ. *pugantalaghūpadhasya* ca (7.3.86) *guṇa* must take place in *kṣipayati*. It is only once that the correct form with *guṇa* in the imperative second person singular is used; but the *guṇa*-less form is also used alongside:

> *pāṇḍoh putro'rjuno nāma sukhaṁ jīvitam ātmanaḥ।*
> *kṣipayiṣyati nirduḥkhaṁ tathā kṣepaya jīvitam॥*[700]

In the Present and the Future tenses the *guṇa*-less form has been used by the author with a consistency that is surprising. As the simple *anuṣṭubh* metre has been used in the two stanzas, there is no question of the infringement of the metre even if *kṣepayati* and *kṣepayiṣyati* are read for *kṣipayati* and *kṣipayiṣyati* respectively.

In the verse given below the form *hiṁsati* has been used in the place of *hinasti* in common use. :

> *rūpakardamam etan mānayanāsvādayādhama।*
> *naśyaty etan nimeṣeṇa bhavantam api hiṁsati ॥*[701]

The commentator offers the comment *chāndaso vikaraṇavyatyayaḥ* on the word *hiṁsati*. The √ *hiṁs* belongs to

the seventh conjugation. The conjugational suffix for it is *śnam* (*na*). The correct form, therefore, would be *hinasti*. But in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* √*hiṁs* is made to take the conjugational suffix (*vikaraṇa*) 'a' which comes after the roots of the First Conjugation. The kind of use of wrong conjugational suffix (*vikaraṇavyatyāsa*) is common in popular works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. It is, however, incorrect to say, as the commentator does, that there is *vikaraṇavyatyaya* in the form *hiṁsati*; for √*hiṁs* is read in the Tenth Conjugation and is *Ādhṛṣīya*, and so it takes *ṇic* optionally. Thus *hiṁsati* and *hiṁsayati* are also correct by the side of *hinasti* of the Seventh Conjugation. *Hiṁsati* is, therefore, not strictly un-Pāṇinian. We have listed it as an un-Pāṇinian form, following the commentator. Grammar apart, usage seems to have extended progressively the treatment of the roots of the First Conjugation to roots assigned to other groups, for the forms thus evolved are far more easy.

Although the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is a later work and cannot claim the antiquity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* it seeks to approximate older works in freestyle language with an amount of laxity in grammar and other things. We are tempted to make here the assertion which, due to its sweep, may not be acceptable to many, that these grammatical aberrations were introduced into the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* deliberately to give it an old look. This is also perhaps the purpose of a sprinkling of prose passages here and there which are reminiscent of the style of the prose works of the later Vedic age. Otherwise the work is written in a highly ornate classical style with its special characteristics of excessive alliteration and rhyme.

There are a few forms in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* where in the imperfect or the aorist the augment *a* (*aṭ*) or *ā* (*āṭ*) is not prefixed. One such form is *vyavatiṣṭhata* in the verse *kevalaṁ suṣuptasaṁsthaṁ sadaiva vyavatiṣṭhata*.[702] The correct form would be *vyavātiṣṭhata*. Similarly, *vibudhyata* in the verse *vibudhyata dinastyānte sva evopavane nṛpaḥ*,[703] should be *vyabudhyata*. Another form where the augment is omitted is *viśam* found in the verse *tathā suṣuptaviśrānteḥ svapne nidrām aham*

*viśam*[704]. *Viṣam* is imperfect. The correct form would be *aviṣam*. It may be pointed out that forms like *viṣam* are quite interesting and are reminiscent of the Vedic injunctive which too is augmentless. The augmentless forms are quite common in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Still another augmentless form in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is found in the verse *apālya yad asad brahmā taraṅgān iva sāgaraḥ*[705]. The correct form here should have been *āsthat*. By Pāṇ. *asyates thuk* (7.4.17) the augment *thuk* (*th*) is added to the root as in the aorist. Besides, √*as* should take the augment *ā* (*āṭ*) since it begins with a vowel. In the form as it occurs in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* both the augments *ā* (*āṭ*) and *th* (*thuk*) are missing.

A verbal form which, as it exists, is clearly, indefensible is *kārṣa* in the verse *tāni mā kārṣa bhos tasmāl lokadvitaya-siddhaye.*[706] The correct form should be *kārṣīḥ*, the aorist second person singular from the root √*kṛ* 'to do'. The commentator accepts this reading and explains it as a *chāndasa* form.

In place of the regular form *pratyeti* from the root √*iṇ*, 'to go' with the preposition *prati* the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses the irregular form *pratyayeti* in the verse *naṣṭaṁ bhūyas tad utpannam iti pratyayeti kaḥ.*[707] This is clearly indefensible.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses the desiderative form *prajīṣete* in the verse:

> *agnīṣomau mithaḥ kāryakāraṇe ca vyavasthite* ।
> *paryāyeṇa samaṁ caitau prajīṣete parasparam* ॥[708]

The regular form would be *jigīṣete*, though the *ātmanepada* would be open to objection. There is a twofold irregularity in *prajīṣete*. First, there is no usual reduplication by Pāṇ. *sanyaṅoḥ* (6.1.9). Second, there is no *kutva* by Pāṇ. *saṅliṭor jeḥ* (7.3.57). In the words of the commentator, *jeḥ sani dvitvakutvayor abhāvaś chāndasaḥ*. *Prajīṣete* of the text is, therefore, ungrammatical.

## Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada

So far as the *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* are concerned there is a lot of confusion in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Very often the *parasmaipada* terminations are added in the place of the regular

*ātmanepada* and the *ātmanepada* terminations used at times in lieu of the regular *parasmaipada*. In common with the Purāṇas, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* frequently contravenes Pāṇini's regulations on the use of these terminations. A few of these are selected for discussion below.

By *viparābhyāṁ jeḥ* (1.3.19) Pāṇini ordains the *ātmanepada* after √*ji* when it is preceded by the preposition *vi* and *parā*. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* contravenes this rule by using vijeṣyanti in *nāhaṁkāraṁ prayāsyanti vijeṣyanti ca tān surān*[709]. *Vijeṣyanti* is, therefore, un-Pāṇinian. Again we read *avatiṣṭhati* in the verse *cid eveyaṁ śilākāram avatiṣṭhati bibharati priyaḥ kila*[710], for the regular avatiṣṭhate. Similary in the verse *tatha santiṣṭhati sa bhikṣukaḥ*[711], the form *santiṣṭhati* is used for the regular *santiṣṭhate*. In both these cases, the author has disregarded Pāṇini's well-known rule, *samavapravibhyaḥ sthaḥ*(1.3.22).

The √*īkṣ* is *anudāttet*. It is, therefore, *ātmanepadī*. The *parasmaipada* form *prekṣa* in the verse *jīvann eva mahābāho tattvaṁ prekṣa yathāsthitam*[712] is manifestly un-Pāṇinian. It should be *prekṣasva*. √*Rabh* too is *ātmanepadī*. So *samārabhet* in *parasmaipada* optative is irregular. It shuld be *samārabheta*. It occurs in *abhyāsena bhayaṁ tasmāt samam eva samārabhet*.[713] The root *sah* has been mentioned among the *amudāttet* roots in the *Dhātupāṭha*. It is, therefore, *ātmanepadī*. Its forms in the *parasmaipada*, would be, therefore, irregular and un-Pāṇinian. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* we have *sah* in the *parasmaipada* in the verse *no saṅgam eti gatasaṅgatayā phalena karmodbhavena sahatīva ca dehabhāram*.[714] Among the *anudāttet* roots which should have the *ātmanepada*, but which are used with the *parasmaipada*, the root √*vṛt*, '*to be*', deserves special notice. Parasmaipada suffixes are permitted after this root only in the future (*lṛṭ*) and aorist (*luṅ*). In other tenses and moods it is to have only *ātmanepada* suffixes. But in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* even in the Present, the *parasmaipada* is used with the root. Thus we have the form *anuvartāmi* in the Present first person singular for *anuvarte* in the verse *yathāprāpto'nuvartāmi ko laṅghayati sadvacaḥ*.[715] There are certain specified senses in which the *parasmaipadī* roots take the

*ātmanepada* terminations. Thus, √*vad* 'to speak', which is *parasmaipadī* takes the *āmanepada* suffixes in certain specified senses of speaking brilliantly, pacifying, conciliating, knowing, toiling, disagreeing, disputing etc. The sense of disagreement in the root is brought out by the preposition *vi*. *Vi+vad* is accordingly used in the *ātmanepada*. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it is used in the *parasmaipada* instead in the verses *mitho bodhāt vivadati maitrīṁ bhajati bodhataḥ*[716] and *kevalaṁ vivadanty ete vikalpair āruruksavaḥ*.[717]

There are cases where the *ātmanepada* suffixes are added where more appropriately *parasmaipada* suffixes should have been used. Thus, for example, √*naś* 'to disappear', is *parasmaipadī*. But we have it with the *ātmanepada* in the verse *tasmāt kim iva naśyate kim iva jāyate*.[718] Again, the *ātmanepada* would be regular after the root √*prarcch* 'to ask', with the preposition *aṅ* in the sense 'to take leave of', as we have it in Kālidāsa: *āpṛcchasva priyasakhaṁ amuṁ tuṅgam āliṅgya śailam*.[719] But the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has used *āpṛcch* in the *parasmaipada* in the verse *mām āpṛcchan namaskṛtya tasmin eva kṣaṇe tataḥ*.[720] The form *āpṛcchan* should be *āpṛcchamānaḥ*.

## Seṭ and Aniṭ

There are certain roots which take the augment *iṭ* before an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix beginning with *val* (*pratyāhāra*) and are termed positively *seṭ* while there are others which do not take the augment and are called *aniṭ*. It is an irregular formation if the augment *iṭ* is added to the *aniṭ* roots and if, conversely, the *iṭ* is omitted in the *seṭ* roots. The kind of iregularity is very common in the Yogavāsiṣtha. A glaring example of this is provided by the form *vivecitāraḥ* in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse:

> *saṅgād āhlādayanty antaḥ śaśāṅkakiraṇā iva ।*
> *vivecitārañ śāstrāṇāṁ nirṇetāraḥ kṣaṇād api ॥*[721]

The root *vic* being *aniṭ*, the correct form would be *vivektāraḥ*.

Another example is provided by the form *kṣipita* used in verse *harendudhavalā rātryaḥ kṣipitā gaṇagītibhiḥ*.[722] The proper form should be *kṣiptāḥ*. The root *kṣip* is *aniṭ*.

The root √*iṣ* 'to desire', though *seṭ* is debarred from taking *iṭ* before *kta* and *ktavatu* by the *sūtra*, *yasya vibhāṣā* (Pāṇini 7.2.15). The correct form in the past participle with *kta* would be *aniṣṭa* and not *anicchita* as used in the following verse of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*:

*anicchite hitair dūradeśāntaragataiḥ phalam* ।[723]

√*Vid* 'to know' is invariably *seṭ*. Now, there is a lot of confusion with regard to it which is very often used in the work as *aniṭ*. The form *brahmavettṛ* derived from √*vid* with *tṛc* has gained wide currency. Yet it is un-Pāṇinian, for, the root, as observed above, is *seṭ*. *Brahmaveditṛ* is, therefore, the correct form. The *aniṭ* form with the suffix *tṛc* is found used twice in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, first, in the verse:

*sarvajñā vedyavettāro vītarāgā gatainasaḥ* ।
*yathāprāptaikakartāro bhāvitātmāna uttamāḥ* ॥[724]

and second, in the verse:

*śāstrārtharasikās tajjñā jñātalokaparāvarāḥ* ।
*heyopādeyavettāro yathāprāptābhipātinaḥ* ॥[725]

## 14. Prepositional Verbs

Whether the prepositions help to bring out the different meanings already present in the root (*upasargā dyotakāḥ*) or denote a meaning of their own (*upasargā vācakāḥ*) is now an old controversy. Be that as it may, there is no denying the fact that when prepositions come to be prefixed to roots, changes in meanings generally occur. These changes are often many and varied.[726] This fact has been noticed in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* with reference to the root *bhū*. The same is the case practically with every other root. Sometimes the meanings of the roots with prepositions come to be changed so radically that it becomes difficult to connect them with their original meanings.

The use of more and more prepositions with the roots and the tendency to convey more and more meanings with the help of these instead of the independent roots became increasingly popular even in very early times.The multiplicity of roots, both

Vedic and classical, came less and less to be used; the roots with prepositions coming to serve their purpose. Accordingly we find that in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* roots with a number of prepositions occur in a variety of senses which sometimes are not very clear.[727]

Though hedged in with this difficulty the study of prepositions in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is both interesting and educative, for, it opens up a fresh field of investigation for those who are interested in the use and function of prepositions in Sanskrit. The meanings in which some of the roots with some of the prepositions occur here may help the understanding of many a prepositional verb in later literature.

## Some Select Roots

### √Añc

With *ud*, this root is used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in a sense slightly different from the one in which it is used elsewhere, viz., 'to go up', 'to rise' or 'appear'[728] as in '*jagad ālokya tat tādṛg udaktopaplavāplutam.*[729] With *āṅ* in the participial form it means 'mixed or in contact with' (*sampṛkta*) as in *rataklamaklānta-purārilakṣmīcalāṅgalekhākramaśīkarāktam.*[730] *Āṅ* is here evidently in the sense of *samantāt* (all round) and *ākta* has the sense of *samākta*.

### √Bandh

With *anu*, this root has a number of prepositional uses. The use of the noun *anubandhu*[731] in the sense of favourable or unfavourable conduct as understood by the commentator, is indeed striking. We do not come across this sense elsewhere in literature. Equally striking is the use of *anubadhnāti*[732] in the sense of forcing or compelling (*nirbandhayati*).

### √Dhā

The prepositions that generally occur with this root in the work are *sam*, *ā* (ṅ), *sam* + *ā* (ṅ), *anu* + *sam* and *anu* + *vi*. The

most frequently used preposition, however, is *sam* + *ā* (*ṅ*) which occurs in the noun form of *samādhāna* in the sense of *dhyāna*, 'concentration' or *samādhi*, ' meditation'. With only *sam* also the root occurs. At one place it means 'to keep', 'to preserve a secret', etc.,[733] a very uncommon sense, while at another it means 'to keep in mind', 'have in view',[734] which again is very uncommon. Usually we have *abhi*+*sam*+*dhā* in the sense 'to intend', 'to have in view'. The omission of *abhi* in the present instance is quite peculiar.

With *anu* and *sam*, *dhā* occurs several times in the sense 'to think of'.[735] In the prose passage *śithilībhutavāsanaḥ kurvann api phalaṁ nānūsaṁdadhāti*[736] also it has nearly the same sense.

### √Diś

Two prepositonal uses of this root attract special attention. One is *apadeśa* which has the rather unusual sense of 'the age predetermined (for a person)',[737] and the other is *vyapadeśya* which means 'worthy of special mention'.[738]

### √Grah

Among the many prepositional uses of the root it is the two with *ud* that are worthy of note. In both these the form is *udgrāhita*. While in one: *parṇoṭajāgraviśrāntaśukodgrāhita-śāstradṛk*,[739] the meaning is 'uttered', 'pronounced', 'expressed' in the other: *vicāritam alaṁ śāstraṁ ciram udgrāhitaṁ mithaḥ*,[740] the meaning is 'thoroughly grasped', 'rightly understood. The suffix *ṇic* is here in *svārtha*.

### √Han

With *ud*, *han* which has one of its primary meanings 'to move', comes to mean 'to move in an uncontrolled manner' , 'to jolt' , 'to strut' and thence 'to behave haughtily or insolently'. We have this sense in *andhānām uddhatir yeyaṁ sā dṛśyāyaiva jāyate*[741]. *Uddhati* means *auddhatya*, *uṭchṛṅkhalatā*, 'unrestra-ined behaviour' and consequently 'audacity'.

With *parā √han* yields the sense of 'deformed', 'disfigured', 'stained' as in *śubhāśubhaprasaraparāhatākṛtau ....... manasi*[742], (vide the com.: *parāhata =malinīkṛta*). Elsewhere *parāhata* means 'contradicted', as in Amara *saṁkulakliṣṭe paraspara-parāhate*. *Parā* is antithetic to *āṅ* and means 'away', 'off' and implies 'separation'. This is crystal clear in the word *parāga* meaning (pollen) which separates from the flower and drops down (*parāgacchati*). Here awayness stands for thoroughness.

At two places in the *Yogavāsiśṭha* is the use of *han* found with *upa*. In both these the past participle form of *upahata* is used. The meaning, however, differs in both. While at one place it means 'overpowered or under the impact of',[743] at another place it means, withered off' or 'fallen off' or 'disappeared'.[744]

## √Hṛ

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* the largest number of prepositional uses are those found with *hṛ*. Of these too the use with *āṅ* (*ā*) far outnumber those with other prepositions. The very general and common meaning in which it is used is that of 'doing or accomplishing a thing.[745] *Hṛ* with *āṅ* is also used in a number of senses of 'acquiring', 'gathering', 'amassing'[746] (even without the concomitant *sam*); 'bringing in', 'effecting'[747], 'withdrawing unto oneself,[748] (even without the usually accompanying *prati*), 'earning',[749] 'enjoying', 'suffering', 'experiencing'[750], 'accepting'[751], 'taking away', 'snatching away', 'taking captive'.[752]

Food is the general acceptation of *āhāra*. Its verbal use, however, is rather unusual. This is found in the verse *nirvāsanaḥ śāntamanā vada vraja pibāhara*.[753] We have it again in the verse:

> *devā ūcur ayaṁ devi upahārikṛto 'mbike ।*
> *sārdhaṁ svaparivāreṇa śīghram āhriyatām iti ॥*[754]

*Āhārya*, *kṛtya* form of *āhṛ*, is found in two different senses in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, one 'to be acquired'[755] and the other 'the artificial aids to beauty like ornaments, unguents,[756] etc.

*Upasaṁhāra* is generally used for 'conclusion or denouement'. But the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses only *saṁhṛ* to convey

this sense. Instead of saying *upasaṁharan* the author says only *saṁharan: saṁharan prastutaṁ vastu.*[757] Another meaning of *hṛ* with *sam* is exactly the same as is conveyed by it with *prati* and *āṅ*. *Pratyāhāra* means 'withdrawing unto oneself', and so does *saṁhāra*. We have this sense in the verbal use of the root in *sañjahāra bahiś cittaṁ sāyam arko ruciṁ yathā.*[758]

*Hṛ* with *sam*, *ud* and *āṅ* is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the sense of 'proclaiming'. The context where the word is used in the work is the one where sage Vasiṣṭha is relating as to how he was given the name Vāta-Vaṣiṣṭha by the *Siddhas*: *Siddhair vātavasiṣṭākhyas tair ahaṁ samudāhṛtaḥ.*[759] *Samudāhṛtaḥ* means *prakīrtitaḥ* or *ghoṣitaḥ*.

*Saṃ* + *hṛ* is used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the sense of 'withdrawing', as for example, *tapaḥ saṁhara.*[760] The more common sense, viz., 'destruction' is also to be met with in the above verse, for there the penance is said to be *saṁhāri* which means 'leading to destruction or total annihilation'.

With *sam* and *āṅ*, *hṛ* comes to have a number of different meanings among which mention may be made of 'doing or accomplishing'[761], 'collecting'[762], 'withdrawing'[763], 'amassing'[764] and 'stabilizing'.[765]

The twofold use of *abhi+ā+hṛ* is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. One, where the sense is 'to go about or to follow', (the routine course) as *nijam abhyāharan kramam*,[766] and the other where the sense is 'to win over by gratification.[767]

The generally accepted sense of *upa+ hṛ* viz., 'to offer', 'to present' or 'make a gift of' is ignored by the author. He uses it instead in the sense of 'doing', 'performing' in the verse: *prāptakarmā yathānyāyaṁ kāle kāle hy upāharat*,[768] where the word *karma* is understood. With an additional *āṅ*, he uses it in the sense 'to avail oneself of', 'to make use of', as in: *naṣṭaṁ naṣṭam upekṣasva prāptaṁ prāptam upāhara* (*upayuṅkṣva*).[769]

'Avoiding or doing away with' is the sense that *hṛ* yields with *ava* as in *ratiñ cāvaharet samam.*[770]

*Saṁvyavahāra* is 'mutual dealings'. This is the commonly accepted sense of the term but in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it is used in the sense of *vyavahāra*, *paribhāṣā*:

*tena jātaṁ tato jātam itīyaṁ racanā girām।*
*śāstrasaṁvyavahārārthaṁ na rāma paramārthataḥ॥*[771]

## √Jan

*Ā* (*ṅ*) does not mean in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* 'to come out from', 'to be born of', in which sense it is found used in most of the Sanksrit works.[772] It means just the reverse. In the verse *anyā dhūmādim ājātā rāma jīvaparamparā,*[773] *ājātā* means 'having entered'. 'Entering' or *anupraveśa* is, therefore, the sense of *ā+jan* intended by the author.

## √Kṛ

This root is found most frequently with *ā* (*ṅ*). Strangely enough we do not meet with many prepositional uses of this root in the work though this is undoubtedly one of the most popular roots in Sanskrit used with a number of prepositions elsewhere.

The preposition *āṅ* has two senses, one of 'comprehension', 'pervasion' (*abhividhi*) and the other of 'slight' (*īṣat*). In both of these it is used with *kṛ* in the work, a combination quite rare elsewhere. In the former sense it is found in the verse: *jaṅgalaṁ janavicchedavibhaktaṁ kham ivākṛtam.*[774] (*ākṛtam=samantāt kṛtam*). In the latter sense it is found in the verse: *muktaś calitum ākartuṁ śaknoti na manāg api,*[775] where *ākartum=īṣat kartum.*

Further, with *ā* (*ṅ*) the root means 'to form'. In this sense it is found in numerous verses of the work. When *pari* too is coupled with *āṅ* the meaning undergoes a drastic change. The Kṛdanta word *paryākṛti* means 'of circular form'.[776] The other forms like *samākāra*, *vikāra* etc. are too well-known to be included in this study.

## Kram

This root is found in the work with the prepositions *ā* (*ṅ*) and *sam ā* (*ṅ*). With *ā* (*ṅ*) it is more frequent while with *sam + ā* (*ṅ*) it is found but once. *Ā*+(*ṅ*)+*kram* occurs in the work at least thrice. In two cases it means 'to overpower': '*jñānam tad*

*upadiṣṭam ........... kintu dāhyam ākramya nocitam*'.[777]. (2) and *mānasenāpi karmaṇā yat kṛtenāpi jño nākramyate*[778]. In the third case it means 'to control', 'to restrain': *svendriyākramaṇaṁ vinā*,[779]. In its only single use *sam+ā+kram* means 'to overtake or to approach quickly':

> *tatas tena samākramya gṛhaṁ nītvā dinatrayam* ।
> *saṁsthāpya tava līlārtham ihānīto raghūdvaha* ॥[780]

### √Kṛṣ

*Nikarṣaṇa* from *kṛṣ* with *ni* is found twice in the work and in both the cases the meanings differ. While in one: *ākāśa karṣakaśa eva nikarśaṇaṁ te*,[781] it means 'rubbing (on the touchstone etc.)', in the other: *sarvāsu dikṣv aśanivarṣani-karṣaṇṭena*,[782] it means 'the destruction of the ramparts (*vapracchedana*)'.

### √Kṣip

*Kṣip* with *ā* (*ṅ*) is used in the work, mostly in uncommon senses.[783] Thus, for example, *ākṣepa* is used in the sense of *saṅkoca*, 'small or limited form'. With *vāsanā* leaving, a person is said to become *apagatākṣepa*.[784] It means he leaves his limited self. *Ākṣepa* is thus used here as an equivalent of *saṁkṣepa*. This is peculiar. Ordinarily, *kṣip* with *āṅ* means 'to sketch out', 'to protrude', 'to assail', 'to intercept', 'to object to', 'to suggest'. *Ā* (*ṅ*) has nowhere the sense of *sam*.

With *abhi*, *kṣip* occurs in the verse: *mahendro mantragarjābhir abhikṣipati garjataḥ*,[785] where it has the sense of 'reprimanding', 'chiding' (vide Comm. *abhikṣipati* = *bhartsayati*). Now *kṣip* alone means 'denunciation', 'condemnation', 'reproach'. *Abhi*, therefore, does not make much difference to its sense.

The use of *kṣip* with *prati* in the sense of 'throwing off' or 'casting off' is rare and unfamiliar. In *pratikṣipantaḥ saṃsāramihikāvaraṇāṁ vayam*,[786] we have precisely this very sense. Generally *pratikṣip* is used in the sense 'to reject', 'to

repudiate' which is a mental act opposed to the physical one intended in the Text.

### √Labh

*Labh* is used in the work with the prepositions *sam+ā(ṅ)*, *ā (ṅ)* and *vi+pra*. With *sam* and *ā (ṅ)* this has the senses of 'putting together', or 'mixing'[787] and 'sprinkling with or spraying with'.[788]

With the single preposition *ā* (*ṅ*) it has the sense of 'touch'[789] in the work. Generally we meet with this use in the Vedic literature. With *vi+pra*, *labh* means 'to decieve'. In this sense we meet with the noun form *vipralambha* in the work.[790]

### √Līṅ

In the sense of 'weak and emaciated' occurs the word *avalīna* from *līṅ* with *ava*, in the verse *ālānam avalīnānāṁ vanyānām iva dantinām.*[791]

### √Mṛj

'To wash off or 'to rub off' or consequently 'to remove' is the sense of *mṛj* when it is coupled with *apa*. The removal of inner or outer darkness by a person is said to be the *apamārjana* of it: *hārdaṁ bāhyaṁ ca timiram apamṛṣṭavatā tvayā.*[792] This is exactly the sense of the root when instead of *parā*, *pra* comes to be prefixed to it as can be seen from the verse:

> *yat sambhṛtam anantena janmadoṣeṇa no malam।*
> *tat pramṛṣṭaṁ tvayehādya hemnām iva havirbhujā॥*[793]

The sense of 'washing' is yielded by the participial form of *vinirmṛṣṭa* (*vi+nir+mṛj+ta*) in the verse *parasparavinir-mṛṣṭadaśadarśanadanturam.*[794] Here, the ten quarters are said to be washed by the waves of the ocean. Now, when a thing like a painting is washed off it loses its beauty and charm, its colours fade and it becomes indistinct and blurred. It is in this secondary sense of 'indistinct' or 'blurred' that we find *pronmṛṣṭa* (*pra+ud+mṛj+ta*) used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verse:

*varṣapronmṛṣṭacitrābhaṁ jagat paśyaty avāsanam.*[795]

The author here says that a person bereft of *vāsanā* will see the whole universe like a painting washed off by *rain*. With the preposition *anu* coming before it as in '*mahārambhānumṛṣṭāni śūnyāni ca parasparam*,[796] √*mṛj* (*anu*+*mṛj*+*ta*) comes to means 'to weigh'.

### √Mṛś

This root is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* with quite a few prepositions but the one with which it is coupled most frequently and conveys a large variety of senses is *parā*. Indeed it is one of the most frequently repeated prepositional uses in the entire work. The popular sense of *parāmarśa* especially in modern times, is 'consultation'. But this is only one of its many senses. √*Mṛś* is read in the *Dhātupāṭha* in the sense 'to touch'. Then it comes to mean 'to touch mentally'; viz., 'to think'. This sense is generally expressed with the help of *parā*. *Parāmṛś* is used in this sense at a number of places in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.[797] Even with *parā* √*mṛś* is found used here as elsewhere in the primary sense, 'to touch', as we have it in *tāta cūtakadambāgraparā marśasugandhayaḥ*,[798] and elsewhere.

The sense of 'rubbing off' (doing away with) is only a slight modification of 'touch', and we have this sense in the Text in *ajñānaṁ jñaptibodhena parāmṛṣṭaṁ praṇaśyati*.[799] From (physical) touch again the sense easily develops into that of 'clash', as we have it in *parasparaparāmarśāt kuntādyāyudha-paṅktayaḥ*'.[800] As a matter of fact, it is a case of intensification of sense. Clash is strong contact, coming together impetuously or violently.

It is quite interesting that with *ā* (*ṅ*) too √*mṛś* is used in the Text in the sense of 'thinking' , 'reflecting': *agṛhītātmkaṁ saṁvidūhāmarśanasūcakam*.[801]

### √Nam

In the *Dhātupāṭha* this root is assigned the meaning of *prahvībhāva*, 'inclination', 'bending down', 'bowing'. With *ā* (*ṅ*)

however, it means 'to come'. We have its participial use in *paryantamaṇḍalādhīśamṛgayānatabṛṃhitaih.*[802] *Ānata* here means *āgata*, 'come', in which sense it is rare elsewhere. It may be noted that *āgata*, is the variant reading for *ānata* of both the Text and the Commentary.

### √Pad

With *sam* and *ā* (*ṅ*), this root is used in the verse: *svayambhūtvasamāpattau tathā dṛśyavyavasthitau,*[803] in the sense of 'becoming'. The 'coming into being' is again the sense of the word *samāpatti* in the verse: *cittāt sargasamāpattiḥ.*[804] This is one of the instances of the author's disregard of convention. Conventionally *samāpatti* means 'meeting', 'encounter', 'chance meeting', as in *samāpattidṛṣṭaḥ.*

In the verse *anyathopaprapadyeha kalpyate yadi kāraṇam,*[805] *upa+pra+pad* means 'to think or to take something in a particular sense', (*upaprapadya=gṛhītvā*). Here *upa* is in excess of requirement.

### √Pat

It means 'to go' (*patḷ gatau*). But with *ni*, *pat* means 'to go down', 'to flow downward': *nipattyaivaikayā'kalpaṃ manobuddhyādivarjitāḥ.*[806]

With the causal suffix it has the sense of 'falling to death'.[807] With an additional *sam*, it means in the noun form of *sannipāta* 'contact', 'association' (*saṁsparśa, saṁbandha*) as in '*vyapagatasukhaduḥkhasannipātaḥ.*[808]

*Ā+pat* is used in the work in noun-form in the sense of 'falling with a slight impact' as in *karaṭāpātavisphoṭā bhānty arthā vāsanādayaḥ.*[809] With *pra*, *pat* is used in the work in the noun form of *prapāta* in the sense of 'a place where water falls (from a mountain)' as in '*yathā prapātā payaso vicitrāḥ kaṇapaṅktayaḥ*'.[810] In this sense we have it in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (2.26) too but lexicographers record its sense of a steep (*ataṭa* or *bhṛgu*) only.

**√Plu**

*Ā* (*ṅ*) and *upa* are the two prepositions with which the uses of this root deserve notice. With *a* (*ṅ*) in the past participial form it has the sense of 'full of': *jadag ḍlokya tat tādṛg udaktopaplavāplutam.*[811] With *upa* in the noun form of *upaplava* it has here the unusual sense of *āplava* (or *āplāva*), flood. Commonly it means 'injury', 'damage', 'obstruction', or 'eclipse'.

**√Rudh**

This means 'to cover', 'to surround' (*āvaraṇa*). With *pari* it may mean 'to surround on all sides' (*pari=paritaḥ*, hence 'covering up'. This is precisely what *parirodha* means when it occurs in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*: *ahambhāvanayābhāti tvamahaṁ-bhāvavarjitaḥ saṁsāracakrāvahanam ātmanaḥ parirodhayā.*[812] *Rudh* with *pari* is rarely used elsewhere. It is the ego (*ahaṁbhāvanā*) which is a cover (*parirodha*) for the soul (*ātman*).

With *upa*, *rudh* yields the rather interesting sense of 'entreating' or 'urging' in (*līlāpakṣiṣu*) *bhojanārthaṁ vadhūlokam uparundhatsv anāratam.*[813]

**√Ruh**

With *ava* this root means 'to climb down'. But *avaropitaḥ*[814] the causal participial form of it, means 'pulled out or taken out', (*utkhāya nirastaḥ*).

√*Ruh* with *sam* is very popular in the sense of 'healing' or 'becoming whole' (said of a wound). In the present work too, we meet with that sense:

> *saṁrohatīṣaṇāviddhaṁ yathā paraśunā'gninā।*
> *na tu jñānāgninirdagdhaṁ prabodhaviśadaṁ manaḥ॥*[815]

**√Sad**

This root (of the Tenth Conjugation) with *ā* (*ṅ*) means 'to get', 'to procure', 'to overtake', but as in other works so here it is used in the sense of 'destroying' as in *asau devān āsādayiṣyati.*[816] May

be, the author is using here the √*ṣadlṛ* of the First Conjugation with the casual suffix, which has one of its senses, 'to perish'. But in that sense, we have usually the prefix *ava* or *ud*.

### √Sañj

This root with *sam* and *ā* (*ṅ*) gives us the word *samāsaṅga* which occurs in the work at least four times and every time it is used it yields the same sense, viz., 'contact', 'union'. The combination of *sam* with *āṅ* in the case of this root is rare.

### √Sidh

This root in the First Conjugation means 'to go'. *Utsedha* ordinarily means 'height', 'altitude' but in the present work it means 'to go', (to shoot up) by virtue of growth.[817] It may be observed here that this is too literal a meaning of the word: *ud=up, sedha=going* and is quite uncommon.

### √Sṛj

The word *visarga* from *sṛj* with *vi* is used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* not in the popular sense of 'emission', 'release', or 'sending away', but in rather peculiar and unfamiliar sense of 'absence of creation', *vi* standing for *vigama* or *viparyaya* as in *ābhāte eva bhāte'smin kṛcchrāt sarge visargatā*.[818]

### √Sthā

This root is most frequently used in the work with *sam* which generally does not add to the sense, e.g., *saṁsthiti* in the work is often used in the sense of *sthiti* itself. But sometimes *sam+sthā* does yield different meanings. In the noun form of *saṁsthāna* it means 'a posture' at one place[819] and 'arrangement (of the seats of the limbs of the body)' at another.[820] In the participial form it means 'firmly planted', 'deeprooted'.[821]

In the expression *samāsthitaḥ* in the verse *sa eṣa Kundadantākhyo dvijaḥ pārśve samāsthitaḥ*[822], the prepositions *sam* and *ā* (*ṅ*) do not add at all to the sense of the root, *samāsthitaḥ* simply meaning *sthitaḥ*, 'present'. Elsewhere in literature,

*sam+āṅ+sthā* means 'to resort to', 'to assume', 'to hold (an opinion)' etc.

With *sam* and *adhi*, *sthā* is used in the work in the sense of 'to stand at the head of', 'to supervise':

> *jīvanmuktamanā mānyo viśvāmitro'py ayaṁ prabhum।*
> *vedoktāṁ makhanirmāṇakriyāṁ samadhitiṣṭati॥* [823]

Here *sam* is redundant. *Adhi* alone precedes the root ordinarily. In the verse: *kālaḥ kriyā ca bhuvanaṁ bhavanaṁ cirāya nāmādhitiṣṭhata ivopavanaṁ vikāsi*,[824] it is used with *adhi* alone (without *sam*), the sense being that of 'looking after or protecting', which is kindred to the sense of 'supervising' noted above.

*A* (*ṅ*) with *sthā* gives the sense of 'existence', *sattā*, as in *itthaṁ gatāsthitir iyaṁ kila Rāmabhadra*.[825]

With *ni* √*sthā* is used in the work in the sense of 'to be in proper order', as *sargāḥ punar anye tv anitṣṭhitāḥ*.[826]

With *vi+ud*, *sthā* comes to mean 'to get up', 'to rise from *samādhi*' as in *tathaiva vyavahāro'pi vyutthāne me bhaviṣyati*.[827] With *abhi*, *sthā* undergoes no change in sense. In *ātmany evābhitiṣṭhati*,[828] *abhitiṣṭati* is synonymous with *tiṣṭhati*. This is confirmed by the expression *svātmany eva hi tiṣṭhati* in the immediately preceding verse.

*Sthā* with *pari* is uncommon in the verbal form, though we have the verbal derivative, *paritiṣṭhati*. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* reads:

> *rajorūpo hi saṁkalpo lokasaṁvyavahāravān।*
> *paritiṣṭhati saṁsāraputradārānurañjitaḥ॥* [829]

Here *pari* means 'pervasion', as elsewhere.

### √Viś

The Text gives us a rather unfamiliar use of this root in *viviśanti*[830] in the sense of *praviśanti*.

The use of *ā* (*ṅ*)+ *viś*, 'to insist', is also rare.[831]

### √Vṛjī

Generally this root with *āṅ* means *ānukūlyasampādana*, 'to win over', 'to captivate', 'to make one inclined in one's favour',

but here it means 'permission' (vide com. *āvarjanam=anujñā*).[832]

## √Vṛt

*Āvarta* from √*vṛt* is ordinarily used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'whirlpool'. The *Amarakoṣa* says *āvarto 'mbhasāṁ bhramaṁ*'.[833] But the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* assigns to it other senses too which are at once peculiar and striking. Thus, it uses it in the various senses of 'circular movement', apart from its use in the popular sense of 'whirlpool' in one and the same verse,[834] 'water-mill'[835] and 'time'.[836] The basic sense of movement or circular movement is present in the sense of 'rolling' that the cognate expression *āvṛti has* in the work.[837] Just as with *āvarta* so with *vivarta*. It too has been used in the various senses of 'movement',[838] 'circular movement'[839] and 'unreal change'[840] which are, however, not uncommon. Certainly uncommon is the sense of 'destruction' or 'ruination' which the participial form *vivṛtta* yields.[841]

With *abhi*, *vṛt* yields the rather interesting sense of passage (of time) as in *abhyavartata vai kālo ṛtusaṁvatsaratmakaḥ*.[842]

With *vi+ā(ṅ)*, *vṛt* yields the sense of 'going round and round' as in *saṁśayaḥ ........ hṛdi vyāvartate lolaḥ kallola iva sāgare.*[843] This is rather exceptional, for, generally we come across *vi+ā+vṛt* in literature in the sense of 'turning away from' cf. *viṣayavyāvṛttakautūhalaḥ*.[844] With *vi+pari* too it has the same sense.[845]

*Pari+vi+vṛt* (used in the context of the battle of gods and demons)[846] has the sense of 'to turn back and to come up again', 'the strategy of retreat and advancement'.

## √Yā

The root *yā* is used here coupled with three prepositions *su*, *abhi* and *ā* (*ṅ*) which is quite peculiar and easily catches the eye: *cūḍālārājakāryāṇi kṛtvā svabhyāyayau punaḥ*.[847] None of the prepositions is superfluous here. As pointed out elsewhere *ā* (*ṅ*) and *abhi* have the sense of *ābhimukhya* or 'this side' while *su* has a different sense of *suṣṭhu* or 'well' or 'with ease'.

*Svabhyāyayau*, therefore, means 'came that side comfortably.'

In the verse *yad yad rāghava saṁyāti mahājanasaparyayā dinam*[848] *saṁyāti* merely gives the sense of passing. In the *Gītā*, *saṁyati* has the sense of 'passing onto', as in *tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇāny anyāni saṁyāti navāni dehī*.[849] But it is worthy of note that *saṁyātrā* has the specific sense of 'voyage' and does not mean 'journey or travel' in general as *yātrā* does.

## √Yuj

With *ā* (*ṅ*), this root is used here in the sense 'to make use of' (*upayoga*). We have it in the verse *rasātalarasāyogāt tṛṇagulmalatādayaḥ janayanti yad ākāram*.[850] With additional *sam* it has the sense of 'contact' or 'union'. The word *samāyoga* is used here several times, and every time the sense is that of *saṁyoga*, 'contact or union.'

*draṣṭṛdṛśyasamāyogāt*[851]

*dehātmanoḥ samāyogāt*[852]

*prāṇāpānasamāyogasamayam*[853]

## REFERENCES

1. *kāvyaṁ rasamayaṁ cāru dṛṣṭāntaiḥ pratipāditam*, II. 18.33.
2. See the Author's (1) UnPāṇinian Forms in the Yogavāsiṣṭha, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, Vol. I, part (ii), September, 1963. (2) *Prepositional Verbs in the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, paper read during the golden Jubilee Celebrations of the *All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan*, Delhi, 1966.
3. V. 61.5 Literally the word means growing on the body which on the face of it could be anything. Amara reads *tanūruha* in the sense of feather and hair (*loman*).
4. VI (ii) 127.27. The Commentary *Tātparyaprakāśa* (TP) explains it as *sākṣāt*.
5. VI (i) 15.16.
6. VI (i) 45.12.
7. VI (ii) 180.15. *aṣṭhī* means a big knot (*granthi*), *aṣṭhīla* then would be possessing the knot or knotty.
8. VI (i) 7.7.

9. II. 18.49.
10. VI (ii). 73.43.
11. VI (ii). 137.19.
12. VI (ii). 127.16.
13. VI (ii).4.47 The word is formed from the *Kṛdanta* form *bhramī* from √*bhram* with the feminine suffix *ī* (*ṅīṣ*). Its more wellknown meaning is 'whirlpool or dizziness'.
14. IV.54.37 *taṇḍulasya yathā carma*. Ordinarily it means skin or hide. The present sense seems to be inspired by similarity: *carma iva carma, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*. Skin protects the body. Husk protects the grain. What skin is to the body, husk is to paddy.
15. III.107.9. The word is found in Hindi and some other vernaculars in the form *iṇḍu* or *īṇḍvā* or *innu* or *binnu*. Sanskrit also has a word *iṇḍva* meaning covering for hands to protect them when removing the *ukhā* fire. In sound the Hindi *iṇḍu* and *iṇḍā* conform more to Sanskrit *iṇḍva* but in meaning they conform more to *ceṇḍaka* of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. As *ceṇḍaka* has not been found elsewhere it is nothing but a Desi word accepted into Sanskrit.
16. III.49.41. The term is well-known in texts on dramaturgy.
17. V.48.8.
18. VI(ii). 44.34 From the word *darada*, poison.
19. VI(i).92.25. It is a technical term.
20. VI(ii).92.25. It is difficult to identify it.
21. IV.27.1. Ordinarily it means pit or depression. The present usage seems to be inspired by similarity, *garta iva gartaḥ, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*. Wounds are depressions on the body.
22. IV.49.4.
23. III.27.39.
24. VI(i)61.19.
25. VI (ii).76.9.
26. V.47.20. Vide the commentary (TP.): *i iti khalvarthe nipātaḥ*.
27. IV.11.70. The reading is doubtful. Some Mss. read *cañculaka* which would signify a kind of a bird.
28. VI (ii).114.9. It normally means war or battle, *yuddha*. From this the author seems to extend it to cover the sense of one who engages himself in war, battle, a *yoddhṛ*, a soldier or a warrior. Grammatically the word could be formed with the addition of the Taddhita suffix *ac: janyam asyāstīti janyaḥ*.

29. III.38.5. Probably it has the same meaning as Sanskrit *kakṣa* which would have become *kaccha* in Prakrit and in course of time was accepted back in Sanskrit. Monier-Williams puts forward the above conjecture in the context of another meaning of the word, viz., the edge of lower garment. The same can be put forward, as done above, in the case of the meaning 'armpit' too.
30. VI(i).85.17.
31. VI(ii).36.22.
32. VI(i).15.13.
33. V.14.15;VI(ii).137.11
34. VI(ii).111.4. Though its presence could be detected in words like *kaśmala*, as an independent word it is rare.
35. VI(i).44.8. Formed from *kāla*, the word is taken in the literal sense. *Kālikā* would then mean darkness which symbolizes ignorance. Hence it could mean ignorance.
36. III.104.30; VI(ii).96.31. The commentary (TP.) explains it *mithyākautukakrīḍā*.
37. III.70.42. This meaning is restricted to lexicons only. The word popularly means a scar. Since the hollow in a tree can well be taken as a scar on it, *kiṇa* is used to denote it. The usage, in line with many others of the kind in the work, is, in all probability inspired by similarity: *kiṇa iva kiṇaḥ, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*.
38. VI(ii).97.39
39. IV.59.33
40. IV.18.8.
41. VI(ii).168.31.
42. V.54.3. Vide commentary (TP.): *lambamānajihvākāraṁ loham*. Most probably this use too is inspired by similarity: *lāṅgūlam iva lāṅgūlam; aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*; it looks like a tail. Hence it is *lāṅgūla*.
43. III.70.45. Most likely this use is inspired by the literal meaning of the underlying *likh* which is 'to scratch, to scrape'.
44. III.38.39. *Matha* here has the sense of *unmathita*.
45. III.122.56. It is interesting that in sound and sense the word is nearest to English 'mist'.
46. VI(ii).115.23.
47. VI(i).92.37. The meaning of it listed in lexicons is 'a vine, a bunch of grapes'. In the present work, however, it seems to preserve the sense of the base word *mṛdu*.

48. VI(ii).24.8.
49. VI(ii).180.24.
50. III.19.8.
51. III.41.8.
52. IV.21.40 *Paṭala* is a kind of disease: a film over the eyes, cataract.
53. V.34.103. The word occurs in the context of *dṛṣṭi*, 'sight'.
54. VI(ii).120.13. Formed probably on the analogy of *jaṭāla*. IV.8.7; IV.59.18 or *śirāla*, VI(ii).81.8.
55. V.61.33 Since the Kalpalatā is always having fruits on it, hence the name *phalinī* for it.
56. III.38.32.
57. VI(ii).115.30. The word means the same as *pīta*.
58. VI(i).7.13. Kṣīrasvāmin takes it as a creeper which cures poison, *pratīpaviṣasya agadatvāt*, vide his comment on *Amara*, II.4.99.
59. VI(i).50.17. The term has been defined by the author himself as *eṣa eva svabhāvātmā janaiḥ puryaṣṭakaṁ smṛtaḥ*.
60. V.44.27.; V.46.9. The known word for 'bee' in Sanskrit is *dvirepha* which is inspired, as the linguisticians would have us believe, by the word *bhramara* which has two *rephas* or *'r'* sounds in it. May be the *Yogavāsiṣṭha repha* is a short form for this. The sense of 'the wings of a bee' may be an extension of the first meaning.
61. VI.(i).101.40
62. VI(ii).59.5. The usage restricts the word to the grammarian, *vaiyākaraṇa*. The nearest meaning to the one of the text could be the one noticed by Monier-Williams on the authority of the Wörterbuch which is 'relating to sounds or words'. This meaning is, however, not warranted by Pāṇini.
63. V.80.5. The commentary (TP.) explains the word as *samyak khyānam = prakāśaḥ*.
64. VI(ii).140.18.
65. III.108.18. The word occurs in the compound *sāranigīrṇa*, swallowed wholly or completely, a very new meaning indeed. From this *sāra* may be traced the Hindi *sārā*.
66. V.89.29
67. III.106.25.
68. VI(i).93.18.
69. V.74.18;20 VI.(ii).92.3, VI (ii).76.9

70. III.59.8.
71. VI(ii).128.8.
72. V.28.16. Generally √*vaci* is used in the sense 'to read out (letter, passage, etc)'. The causal sense, 'to make to speak' is rather unusual.
73. VI(ii).120.25. *Vāstu* is common enough. *Ka* is a Prakritic suffix.
74. VI(i).81.34.
75. VI(ii).198.29.
76. III.46.26. Vide the commentary (TP.) *Yamārādhanayātrotsavaḥ*.
77. VI(ii).134.22.
78. V.82.1
79. VI(ii).24.16.
80. VI(ii).115.42.
81. V. 68.51.
82. IV..49.4.
83. III.28.40.
84. V.89.28.
85. IV.54.8 Amara reads *mātuliṅgaka*.
86. V(i).15.22.
87. V.51.35.
88. IV.32.20.
89. VI(i).131.42.
90. VI(i).30.102.
91. ibid.
92. III.71.32.
93. VI(i).8.18.
94. VI(ii). 99.5.
95. IV.55.23.
96. VI(i).7.4.
97. V.45.77.
98. VI.84.34. Vide the commentary (TP.) *bhūtagraho bhūtamaṇḍalākhyo deśaviśeṣaḥ*.
99. V.45.25.
100. VI(i) 22.16.
101. VI.35.44. Since crystal is of superior quality, the author would have his word convey it.
102. V.45.28.
103. V. 74.13. For Meru the author coins the words *amaraśailendra* and *devācala* which mean the mountains of the gods. Here also

general words are taken to convey a particular thing, the mount Meru, probably because of its being the favourite resort of the *devas*.

104. VI(ii).7.15.
105. VI(ii).16.7.
106. V.53.30. It is a mere word play. The author has coined his own word. *Sūrya* has a number of synonyms. *Arka* is one of them. He has substituted it by just that to give a new look to the word.
107. VI(i).128.83. The coinage has a peculiar construction. The commentary (TP.) explains it as *asatsamāḥ kāyante kīryante iti* (*asat+sa*(*=sama*) + *ka* (= √*kai* 'to say', 'to speak', *śabda*).
108. V.58.13. It is a descriptive word. The idea of Śukra is sought to be conveyed by mentioning him as the preceptor of Asuras that he is. The use of *deśika* hence is rather interesting. It is more prevalent in the South.
109. IV.47.79. Literally the word means the wind that scatters debris. Since it is so fierce that it would uproot everything and would reduce it to debris, the author uses the word in the sense of *pralaya-vāyu*.
110. VI(ii).14.3. Literally it means one who drinks ghee, an obvious reference to the oblations of ghee poured into the fire for deities.
111. VI(ii). 196.17. The formative explanation of the word could be: *bhavena caritum̐ śīlam̐ yasya*. Here *bhava* is derived from √*bhū* (*prāptau*) 'to obtain'.Those who are used to keeping themselves up with whatever little they get. The Commentary (TP.) rightly explains it as: *prāptānnabhakṣaṇaśīla*.
112. VI(ii).209.11. *Dhātu* here means the same as in Āyurveda, the humour.
113. VI.(ii).116.22. Literally it means that which makes a cobweb.
114. VI(ii). 97.39. Literally it would mean one who tosses or shakes off. Since this action is connected in the mind of the author with the winnow-basket, the word is used in the sense of 'a winnower'.
115. III.73.11.
116. VI(i).23.32.
117. VI(ii). 186.37. It is a descriptive word. Literally it means 'the place which causes the illusion of water in a desert'. This is what mirage is.
118. V.52.3. Literally it means that which causes the clouds, *meghān vidadhāti*. Since it is Indra who is god of rain and thunder, it is taken to signify Indra.

119. III.107.46. This is a rather crude word meaning literally, one 'with a greedy penis'. Figuratively it would mean 'one given to sexual pleasures'.
120. IV.7.22. Used in place of the more popular *anaṅga*.
121. VI(ii).198.33. This also is a general word conveying a particular thing. Literally it means white mountain. In the text it stands for Kailāsa because of its perpetual association with snow and consequently the white colour.
122. IV.6.14. Literally it means that which makes the clothes fragrant: *paṭān vāsayati*.
123. VI(i).7.43.
124. IV.35.34.
125. VI(ii).129.14.
126. V.47.20. The word has a peculiar construction. The commentary (TP.) explains it as: *ṛtūnām ṛtutvaṁ minoti paricchinatti iti ṛtutvamaḥ*. The word is descriptive of one of the functions of the Sun.
127. VI(ii).213.21.
128. V.67.45. This is also a coinage after the manner of *abhijātopala*, already noticed.
129. VI(i).82.10. TP. explains the word as: *tantrībhāro bhastrārūpaś carmaviśeṣaḥ*.
130. VI(i).2.2. Since the Sun causes heat: *tāpayati*, it is designated by that name. This replaces the usual *tapana*.
131. VI(i).52.5. Literally it means '(the apprearance of) river in heat'. A very imaginative word for mirage indeed!
132. VI(ii).83.5. *Rut* here is from √*ru* 'to give out sound', *śabda*. Fire is *taptakāñcanarut* for while burning it gives out sound like the one given out by the heated gold, vide the Commentary (TP.): *tapatakāñcanam iva rauti dhvanatīti*.
133. VI.(ii).145.31. It is a good instance of a descriptive word. *Tuhina* is frost, mist or cold. The one whose *āhāra*, food is *tuhināhāra*, i.e. fire.
134. VI(i).68.37. Lit. one possessing wool. Like many other analogical formations, it is formed on the analogy of *ahaṁyu, śubhaṁyu* for which there is express sanction of the suffix *yus* by Pāṇini: *ahaṁśubhayor yus*.(5.2.140)
135. III.107.29. Monier Williams notices the word, though tracing it to lexicons only, but gives an altogether different meaning of the

black species of Tulasī or holy basil. The present coinage is composed of two parts: *vana* and *la*, the possessive suffix *lac*. Literally it means that which has water. Cp. *abhra*, *jaladhara*. *Vana* is one of the synonyms of water listed by Amara.

136. VI(ii).108.24. This is to be analysed as *varasya kalpanam*. *Kalpana* is *kriyā*, hence, *satkriyā*.
137. VI(ii).6.32. Literally it means that which moves in the sky.
138. IV.59.14.
139. V.79.11.
140. VI (ii). 130.22.
141. IV.24.11.
142. VI (ii) 158.18.
143. IV.24.11.
144. V.71.55.
145. VI (ii) 5.9.
146. *Mahābhāṣya*. ed. Keilhorn. Vol.II, p.138.
147. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* gives us another interesting information in the context of the word *vaidūrya*, i.e., that *vaidūrya* or cats eye gem comes into being when the clouds appear in the sky. The drops of rain transform the oyster shells into pearls.
148. III.69.9.
149. IV. 34.44.
150. V. 43.6.
151. VI (i). 47.21.
152. VI (ii). 143.37
153. VI (ii). 74.25
154. VI (ii). 140.39
155. VI (ii).155.18
156. III. 50.10
157. VI (ii). 75.29
158. VI (ii). 75.30
159. VI (ii). 62.30
160. VI (ii). 71.13.
161. V. 54.87
162. VI (ii).75.28-29.
163. III. 100.26.
164. IV. 33.70; 54.36; 62.17-18; V. 24.9; 60; 43.2; 43.3; 92.3.
165. VI (i). 74.22.
166. VI. (i) 74.22.

167. V. 43.32.
168. See Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara 2.4.33. According to Amara, however, *sahakāra* is a particular species of the mango tree which has an extremely sweet smell.
169. Cf. Prakrit *gumagumā* 'to hum'.
170. III. 33.7.
171. III.33.26
172. III. 34.37. It is a typical poetical approach of the author. It seems that with *cāmarī* only the repetitive aspects of *cāmarī* movements were enough for the poet to give the sense of *gharghara*.
173. III. 48.12.
174. III. 48.80.
175. VI (ii)64.23.
176. VI (ii)76.7.
177. VI (ii)77.25.
178. VI (ii).77.33.
179. VI (ii).78.13.
180. VI (ii)78.22.
181. VI (ii)78.22.
182. VI (ii).113.18.
183. VI (ii)64.23.
184. VI (ii).134.13.
185. VI (ii).60.17.
186. VI (ii).60.19.
187. IV. 26.58.
188. VI (ii). 66.12.
189. *sasurāsurabhūtaughamaśakāhitaghuṇghumam*, VI.(ii).13.7,
*lokāntareṣu saṅghena devāsuranaroragāḥ।*
*udumbareṣu maśakā iva ghuṅghumitāḥ sthitāḥ॥* III.85.29.
190. *udyānadolāvilasallalanāgeyaghuṅghumaḥ*, IV.48,12
191. *lokālokādrirasanāraṇadarṇavaghuṅghumā*, III.85.22.
*ghananirghātanirghoṣabhīṣaṇārṇavaghuṅghumāt*,
*na bhītā bhūbhṛtas* tatra, VI(ii)122.17;
*śaṅkharāśiviśadvātaśabdatarjitaghuṅghumān.*
(*athārṇavāṁs te dadṛśuḥ*), VI(ii)113.17.
192. *vyomāpi ghuṅghumam alaṅghyam alaṁcakāra*, VI (ii) 133.16.
193. *kānanopāntanagarīghuṅghumākarṇanecchayā*, V (ii) 55.23.
194. *dhārādharadharārandhra[illegible]atiśrud[illegible]ghanaghuṅghumā*,
*jagadde[illegible]haguhāsīd*, VI (ii).112.13.

195. VI (ii)145.36.
196. VI. (ii) 139.56.
197. VI (ii) 81.67.
198. VI (ii) 145.43.
199. VI (ii) 81.53.
200. *āsan kṣveḍākurākṣasyo jvālājālojjvalordhvajāḥ* ।
*bhamadbhamiti bhāṅkārair bhīṣaṇair bhūribhasmabhiḥ*, VI(ii). 75.32.
201. ibid., (*bhāṅkārā bhīṣāṇā ravāḥ*)
202. *anyonyam āvalayatām aho buḍabuḍāravaḥ* VI(ii). 139.61.
203. *kaṭucaṅkāracītkārakreṅkāraparipīvaraḥ* ( *caturaṅgo balau-ghaḥ*), VI (iii). 111.37.
204. *jalaiś calacalāyantī suṣirānekaraṁdhrikā*, VI (ii). 74.11.
205. *āpaś calacalāyante vahanti vyomni vāyavaḥ*, VI (ii). 66.4.
206. *nirhrādakāribhir vātair vahacchapachapāravam*, VI (ii). 112.24.
207. *cīcīkūcītivacanā viharanti vihaṅgamāḥ*, III. 136.38.
208. *citir eve cirāyedaṁ cittaṁ cimacimāyate*, VI (ii). 148.16.
209. *piṣṭo raso'sya niryāti raktaṁ culaculāravaiḥ*. III. 50.34.
210. *tāvan mattanayo'yam ity aviratam drāṅkārabhīmāravair dhvāṅkṣeṇopavane nipatya nabhasaḥ sarve kṛtā nīrasāḥ*, VI (ii). 116.76.
211. *dhvanatkaṇakaṇāśabdo madhyalakṣitaṭāṁkṛtiḥ*, III. 33.6.
212. *kvacid dhuṅkārakāṅkārair aṅgāranikarān karaiḥ, kiṅkarair vikiraty arkaḥ* VI (ii). 115.31.
213. *pātair utpātavahnyabhrakavatkarakarair ghanaḥ*, VI (ii). 150.45.
214. *khadakhadaravasaṁvahaccharaugham*, III. 46.31.
215. *cañcvagre khañjarīṭasya kīṭaḥ kiṭakiṭāyate*, VI(ii). 118.11.
216. *gartamārutakrāṅkārabhīmadāvāgnivalganam*, III. 108.28.
217. *dvijaiḥ kucakucaiḥ kūjatsvalīlāsvabhrakacchakam*, III. 28.24.
218. *mahākuhakuhāśabdaṁ kvathatsaptābdhimaṇḍalam* (*dvādaśādityagaṇam*), VI (ii) 75.14.
219. *kūjatkuñjakaṭhoragahvaranadīkvatkāravatkīcakastambhāḍam-baramūkamaukulikulaḥ krauñcācalo' yaṁ giriḥ*, VI (ii). 115.11.
220. *daṇḍāhateva bhujagī samunnativivartinī* ।
*āvartaphalamāleva nityaṁ salasalāyaye* ॥ VI (i). 81.65.
221. *sa suparṇaghanopāttaṁ sarpaughaṁ bhūprapūrakam* ।
*kaṣṭam śalaśalāyantam Agastya iva vāridhim* ॥ III. 48.35.
222. *śāmyacchamaśamāśabasatāśākhahutāśanam*, VI (ii). 77.37.
223. *pravahatkhadgasītkārajvalatkaṇasanadhvaniḥ*, III. 33.14.

224. *āśāḥ śanaśanāśabdaiḥ puruṣaiś ca śivārciṣām*, VI. (ii). 75.31.
225. *vahacchavaśavāśabdaṁ niryayur dhanurambudāt*, III. 48.13.
226. *ime śukaśukāyante vindhyakandaravāyavaḥ*, VI. (ii). 114.34.
227. *śaṅkuśaṅkitasūtkārakāśiśulāṁśataṁ*, III. 50.15.
228. *ṭakaṭakitāravasampatadbhuṣuṇḍi*, III. 46.31.
229. *kasyāyaṁ madhur ity atas tava tavety uktaṁ tvaroccais taroḥ*, VI (ii) 116.78.
230. *mahārṇavamahāvartavṛttidhūmavivartanam।*
*nīlajvālālavollāsahelāṭimaṭimāraṭi॥* VI (ii) 77.2-3.
231. *timitimivad raṇam āsa dustaraṁ tat*, III. 46.3
232. III.49.7.
233. III. 43.27. The commentator of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* gives us a verse wherein these words (*ḍātkāra*, *bhāṅkāra* and *utkāra*) are found precisely defined:
*niḥśvāsaśabdāḥ sūtkārā ḍātkārā luṇṭhanāravāḥ।*
*bhāṅkārā bhīṣaṇāḥ śabdā utkārā udhhatā ravāḥ॥*
That this definition is very general can be seen from the word *sūtkāra* itself. As noted earlier, this word has been used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* even for the whizzing of a *śaṅku*. Similarly, *ḍātkāra* which has been defined in the verse above as the hullabaloo associatied with robbery has also been used by our author together with *ātkāra*, another onomatopoeic word, in the sense of confused noise on account of a house nettled in a conflagration. Here there is no sense of *luṇṭhana* or robbery although it might have been associated with *luṇṭhana* originally, for it is this association only which has given *ḍākā*, the Hindi derivative of it, the sense of *luṇṭhana* or robbery.
234. *anyonyam āvalayatām aho buḍabuḍāravaḥ।*
*śrūyate devadaityānāṁ svastrīhalahalākulaḥ॥* VI (ii) 139.61.
235. *kaṭucaṅkracītkārakreṅkrāraparipīvaraḥ*, VI (ii) 111.37.
236. *jayamaṅgalapuṇyāhaghoṣaghuṅghumaghargharam*, III. 59.4.
237. *ucchaladdīrgharutkāraiś chamacchamamayātmakaiḥ* (cf. Prakrit *chamachamaī*), VI (ii) 77.4.
238. *vahacchavaśavāśabdabhūribhāṅkārabhīṣaṇam*, IV. 26.35.
239. *pravahatkhaḍgasītkārajvalatkaṇasaṇadhvaniḥ*, III. 33.14.
240. VI. (ii). 148.16.
241. VI (i) 98.15; VI (i) 99.8; VI (ii) 173.15,31; VI (ii) 175.22, 35; VI (ii) 184.11; VI (ii) 191.18; VI (ii) 213.18.
242. VI (ii) 130.7.

243. VI (ii) 66.4.
244. VI (ii) 114.34.
245. VI (ii) 24.11.
246. VI (ii) 130.7.
247. VI (ii) 74.12.
248. VI (ii) 137.15.
249. VI (ii) 90.10.
250. VI (ii) 77.49.
251. VI (ii) 75.31.
252. III. 48.13.
253. III. 32.24.
254. III. 43.23.
255. III. 39.12; VI (ii). 75.22.
256. III. 43.45.
257. VI (ii) 111.3.
258. III. 39.12.
259. VI (ii) 81.53.
260. III. 43.23.
261. *kacajjhaṇajhaṇadhvani*, VI. (ii). 134.7.
262. *jvalatkaṇasaṇadhvaniḥ*, III. 23.14.
263. *praśemur atha hetīṣu prodyatkaṭakaṭāravāḥ*, III. 46.19.
264. *sphuratkaṭakaṭāṭopacaṭatpattanamaṇḍalam,* VI. (ii). 75.16.
265. *sphuṭaccaṭacaṭāsphoṭaiḥ,* VI (ii). 111.6.
266. *udyadgulugulodaram,* VI. (ii).111.13.
267. *vahacchavaśvāśabdaṁ niryayur dhanurambudāt,* III. 48.13.
 *pravahatkhaḍgasītkāra*, III. 33.14.
268. *valadgulugulārava*.......VI(ii). 139.38.
269. *khe vaṭatketupaṭṭāṭṭa*...... VI(ii). 110.12.
270. III. 32.14.
271. III. 33.13.
272. VI (ii) 71.33.
273. VI (ii) 110.12.
274. VI (ii) 110.15.
275. III.27.47.
276. VI(ii).113.32.
277. VI(ii).120.2.
278. VI(ii).113.16.
279. VI(ii)71.48.
280. III.50.26. Ordinarily it denotes a specie of plants.

281. III.106.35.
282. VI(ii).137.14.
283. VI(i).107.22.
284. VI(ii).102.57.
285. III.38.3.
286. III.108.17.; IV.44.34.
287. VI(ii).122.13.
288. I.18.28.
289. V.46.8; VI(i).14.22; VI(ii).15.5; VI(ii).183.11.
290. VI(ii).17.34.
291. VI(i).29.90
292. VI(ii).117.5. The word is still very much in use in India in Hindi and other languages.
293. VI (i) 107.22; VI (ii). 102.57.
294. VI (ii) 11.11.
295. VI. 53.9; VI (ii) 127.20.
296. VI (ii) 122.13.
297. VI (ii) 17.3.
298. VI (i) 29.90.
299. V. 46.8; 47.58; VI (i). 14.22; VI (ii). 111.3; 151.5; 183.1.
300. VI (ii) 117.17.
301. As Dr. P. B. Pandit would have it.
302. As Dr. Sukumar sen would havt it
303. V. 47. 64.
304. VI (ii) 140.24.
305. VI (i) 4.11, VI (i). 40.15.
306. VI (ii) 3.34.
307. VI (i) 82.4.
308. IV. 29.16.
309. V. 36.9.
310. V. 35.46.
311. V. 48.10.
312. V. 70.8.
313. V. 67.45.
314. V. 63.12.
315. *athavā pūrvapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ, atyantasiddhaḥ siddha iti. tad yathā devadatto dattaḥ, satyambhāmā* bhāmeti -under *siddhe śabdārthasambandhe* in Paspaśāhnika.
For the history of words, a study of such forms is particularly

243. VI (ii) 66.4.
244. VI (ii) 114.34.
245. VI (ii) 24.11.
246. VI (ii) 130.7.
247. VI (ii) 74.12.
248. VI (ii) 137.15.
249. VI (ii) 90.10.
250. VI (ii) 77.49.
251. VI (ii) 75.31.
252. III. 48.13.
253. III. 32.24.
254. III. 43.23.
255. III. 39.12; VI (ii). 75.22.
256. III. 43.45.
257. VI (ii) 111.3.
258. III. 39.12.
259. VI (ii) 81.53.
260. III. 43.23.
261. *kacajjhaṇajhaṇadhvani*, VI. (ii). 134.7.
262. *jvalatkaṇasaṇadhvaniḥ*, III. 23.14.
263. *praśemur atha hetīṣu prodyatkaṭakaṭāravāḥ*, III. 46.19.
264. *sphuratkaṭakaṭāṭopacaṭatpattanamaṇḍalam*, VI. (ii). 75.16.
265. *sphuṭaccaṭacaṭāsphoṭaiḥ*, VI (ii). 111.6.
266. *udyadgulugulodaram*, VI. (ii).111.13.
267. *vahacchavaśvāśabdaṁ niryayur dhanurambudāt*, III. 48.13. *pravahatkhaḍgasītkāra*, III. 33.14.
268. *valadgulugulārava*.......VI(ii). 139.38.
269. *khe vaṭatketupaṭṭāṭṭa*...... VI(ii). 110.12.
270. III. 32.14.
271. III. 33.13.
272. VI (ii) 71.33.
273. VI (ii) 110.12.
274. VI (ii) 110.15.
275. III.27.47.
276. VI(ii).113.32.
277. VI(ii).120.2.
278. VI(ii).113.16.
279. VI(ii)71.48.
280. III.50.26. Ordinarily it denotes a specie of plants.

281. III.106.35.
282. VI(ii).137.14.
283. VI(i).107.22.
284. VI(ii).102.57.
285. III.38.3.
286. III.108.17.; IV.44.34.
287. VI(ii).122.13.
288. I.18.28.
289. V.46.8; VI(i).14.22; VI(ii).15.5; VI(ii).183.11.
290. VI(ii).17.34.
291. VI(i).29.90
292. VI(ii).117.5. The word is still very much in use in India in Hindi and other languages.
293. VI (i) 107.22; VI (ii). 102.57.
294. VI (ii) 11.11.
295. VI. 53.9; VI (ii) 127.20.
296. VI (ii) 122.13.
297. VI (ii) 17.3.
298. VI (i) 29.90.
299. V. 46.8; 47.58; VI (i). 14.22; VI (ii). 111.3; 151.5; 183.1.
300. VI (ii) 117.17.
301. As Dr. P. B. Pandit would have it.
302. As Dr. Sukumar sen would havt it
303. V. 47. 64.
304. VI (ii) 140.24.
305. VI (i) 4.11, VI (i). 40.15.
306. VI (ii) 3.34.
307. VI (i) 82.4.
308. IV. 29.16.
309. V. 36.9.
310. V. 35.46.
311. V. 48.10.
312. V. 70.8.
313. V. 67.45.
314. V. 63.12.
315. *athavā pūrvapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ, atyantasiddhaḥ siddha iti. tad yathā devadatto dattaḥ, satyambhāmā* bhāmeti -under *siddhe śabdārthasambandhe* in Paspaśāhnika.

For the history of words, a study of such forms is particularly

interesting. The writer of these lines has noticed a few of such forms from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his *The Rāmāyaṇa- A Linguistic Study*, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1964 pp. 100-102. Scanning of more works may bring to light many more such forms.

316. They are the results of the tendency of the dropping of one of the two syntactically connected words. Other interesting examples that have come to our notice in literature are: (i) *abhiyukta* which stands for *doṣābhiyukta* meaning connected with (*abhiyukta*) offence (*doṣa*). (ii) *Uttara* which stands for *uttaravākya* or *uttaravacana* meaning subsequent words or reply. But this obviously has its limitations. Were it not so, *ādhmāta* would alone stand for *darpādhmāta* (inflated with pride) which it never does. For a detailed note on such words see the author's *Essays on Indology*, Mohar Chand Lacchman Das, Delhi, 1963, pp. 56-26.
317. VI (ii) 14.5.
318. VI (ii) 145.47.
319. VI (ii) 196.15.
320. V. 4.8.3.
321. VI (ii) 145.41.
322. III. 81.36; VI (i) 54.21; VI (ii) 86.3.
323. III. 107.28.
324. V. 91.71.
325. IV. 48.12.
326. V. 45.19.
327. VI (ii) 136.11.
328. VI (ii) 12.35; 118.25.
329. VI (ii). 115.11.
330. VI (ii). 115.11(?)-Ed.
331. *Vyaktiviveka*, pp. 306-7. It is not possible to agree entirely with Mahimabhaṭṭa for generally in such cases the cognate verb expresses a general action (*kriyāsāmānya*) and not particular action (*kriyāviśeṣa*). Hence the repetition in sense should not be seen in them. Thus in *cintāṁ cintayati cintayati* simply means *karoti*. Just as with verbs so with nouns which in such expressions do not express a general idea but a particular idea. Thus in *krīḍābhiḥ krīḍyate, krīḍā* does not mean just a play but a particular game.
332. VI (i). 60.2.

333. VI(ii).194.31.
334. IV.59.9.
335. V.41.33.
336. V.53.7.
337. V.91.2.
338. VI (ii). 86.4.
339. VI (ii). 114.12.
340. VI (ii).136.17.
341. VI (ii). 156.2.
342. VI (ii). 183.24.
343. V.3.23; vi (ii). 145.17.
344. VI (ii). 128.8.
345. VI (i). 26.39.
346. III. 41.57.
347. III.41.57.
348. IV. 36.24.
349. IV. 44.10.
350. VI (ii).93.18.
351. VI (ii).98.17.
352. VI (ii). 155.12.
353. III.85.25.
354. III.121.2;59.
355. VI (ii). 183.65.
356. VI (ii). 94.77.
357. VI(ii). 138.1.
358. VI(ii). 176.26.
359. 2.18.20; 3. 60.9; 5. 34.83; 6 (i). 112.12.
360. VI(i) 7.38.
361. VI(ii). 59.13.
362. VI(ii). 214.1
363. III.104.47.
364. III.82.19
365. VI(ii). 85.6
366. VI(ii). 59.13.
367. VI(ii). 88.16.
368. 9.63
369. V. 30. 20; 32.20.
370. IV.10.52

371. III.69.3.
371. IV.46.12.
373. III. 120.19.
374. IV. 16.4.
375. V. 6.17; 82.47; 6 (i) 66.16; 6 (ii). 68.15; 72.6; 208.6.
376. IV. 12.4; 13.6; 40.4; 59.50; 5. 34.83.
377. VI (ii) 203.38.
378. IV. 15.20; 59.31; 5.50.25; 6 (i). 20.15; 6 (ii) 149.1; 158.4.
379. IV. 15.11; 39.45; 44.14; 47.37; 48.2; 59.31; 5.18.2 3 11; 19.36; 34.33; 33;38.2; 50.25; 51.25; 59.24; 91.13; 6 (i). 7.27; 6 (ii). 56.7; 102.51; 127.18; 149.1; 158.14.
380. VI (ii). 138.80
381. VI (i). 15.17
382. IV. 29.6; 22.8.
383. IV. 6.5.
384. VI (i). 104.27
385. III. 116. 2.
386. VI (ii). 120.34. *Ubhayapadavṛddhi* is the peculiarity here, vide Pāṇ. *hṛdbhagasindhvante pūrvapadasya ca* (7. 3. 19.).
387. V. 34.87.
388. ibid.
389. IV. 48.9. The commentator explains *māgadha* as *magadhānāṁ nivāso janapadaḥ*, the country inhabited by the *Magadhas* and forms the word with the addition of *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *tasya nivāsaḥ* (4.2.69). Now, if this explanation were to be accepted, the form *māgadha* would be impossible, for by dropping the *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *janapade lup* (4.2.81) the form would be *magadhāh*. For *māgadha* to be formed as such, it is better to take it in the sense of belonging, *magadhānām ayam*, and have *aṇ* by Pāṇ. *tasyedam* (4.3.120)
390. V. 2.10.
391. III.50.35; 5. 89.59; 6 (i). 14.26.
392. IV. 8.7.
393. V. 34.84
394. VI (ii). 9. 8.
395. V. 34.85.
396. VI (i). 128.7.
397. V. 34.88.
398. IV. 49.34; 55.12.

399. VI (II). 93. 71. *naidhana=nidhanasaṁbandhi*, leading to death.
400. V. 30.19.
401. V. 84.35.
402. ibid
403. VI (i). 63.57.
404. VI (ii). 85.14; 16.
405. V. 34.85.
406. III. 6.9; 4. 62.17; 5.24.9; 60; 43. 3; 92.3.
407. VI (i). 128.108.
408. V. 33.15.
409. V. 43.32.
410. V. 45.43.
411. V. 34.83.
412. IV. 8. 6; 6 (i). 128.61.
413. VI (i). 112.9; 12
414. V. 66.33;82.48.
415. V. 34.86.
416. V. 43.27.
417. VI (ii). 134.10.
418. V. 68.27.
419. V. 54.12.
420. VI (ii). 59.13.
421. V. 34. 84.
422. V. 34. 87.
423. V. 54. 91.
424. VI (i). 128.6;6 (ii). 95.11.
425. V. 34.83.
426. IV. 57.20.
427. IV. 21.40; 5. 85.14.
428. V. 34.88.
429. IV.7.1; 6 (ii). 163.10.
430. VI (ii). 160.14.
431. IV. 47.21; 6 (ii). 69.4.
432. V. 39.4.
433. IV. 34.24; 5. 34.84.
434. III. 86. 9.
435. V. 34.84; 6 (ii). 66.15
436. V.34.88.
437. V.45.5.

438. VI (i). 105.47. The meaning of the word is 'pertaining to a young woman', *yuvatyā idam*.
439. VI (ii). 112.26.
440. VI (ii). 114.12.
441. 3107. 10; 44; 6 (ii). 88.19.
442. III. 19.8.
443. VI (ii). 115.40.
444. VI (ii). 139.25; 169.41.
445. VI (ii). 94.55
446. III. 77.13.
447. III. 47.6; 95. 37; IV. 56.23; V. 78.5.
448. 1. 19.1; 2; 3; 10; 21; VI (ii). 204.20.
449. V. 34.85. First *bārhaspatya* and then in the feminine *bārhaspatī*
450. III. 81. 47.
451. V. 60.1.
452. IV. 32. 37.
453. VI (ii). 129. 6.
454. IV. 32.37.
455. VI (i). 21.13.
456. VI (ii). 109.47.
457. 1. 19. 27; 2. 11.63; VI (i) 10.9; 116.4.
458. II. 13.14; 6 (ii). 47.34.
459. VI (ii). 143.32.
460. VI (ii) 67.29.
461. VI (ii). 91 .32.
462. V. 30. 12.
463. VI (i). 85. 143.
464. V. 6. 7.
465. V. 78. 5.
466. III. 9. 63; 5. 74. 6; 7; 78. 5; 12.
467. III. 55.65.
468. VI (ii). 143.. 32.
469. VI (ii). 179.13.
470. VI (ii). 84.25.
471. V. 89.56.
472. VI (ii). 173.27.
473. VI (ii). 75.6.
474. VI (ii). 190.89
475. VI (ii). 67.32.

476. VI (ii). 93. 94; 194.10; 31.
477. VI (i). 2. 34; 32. 4.
478. VI (ii). 79. 22.
479. IV. 9.14. The text where the word occurs reads: *araṇyalakṣmīr bālyeva*. Since *bālyeva* does not mean anything, our suggestion is that it should be emended as *bālyena*.
480. 1. 19.4; 15; 30
481. V.89.6.
482. V. 57.19; 6 (ii). 187.43.
483. V. 70.11.
484. III.22.9.
485. V.18.56.
486. V.57.21.
487. V. 91. 71.
488. V. 71.55.
489. V. 58.40.
490. VI (ii). 101.8.
491. 1. 30.19; 6 (ii). 11.23.
492. V. 57.19.
493. IV. 56.37.
494. V. 49.9.
495. 1. 18.4.
496. VI (ii). 22.38.
497. V. 18.56.
498. V. 58.29; 6 (ii). 29.51.
499. IV. 27. 28.
500. V . 39. 18; 53. 63.
501. III. 61. 14.
502. V. 91. 71.
503. VI (ii). 65.6.
504. VI (ii). 49.22.
505. VI (ii). 65.6.
506. V. 93. 2.
507. VI (ii). 214. 5.
508. VI (i). 105. 30.
509. VI (ii). 101. 21.
510. V. 66.9.
511. VI (i). 11.23.
512. V. 36. 67.

513. IV. 32. 24.
514. V. 41.3.
515. VI (ii). 198.15.
516. VI (i). 56.32.
517. VI (ii). 8. 5.; 212 .21.
518. VI (ii). 60.2.
519. VI (ii). 75. 40.
520. VI (ii). 101. 80.
521. VI (ii). 67.29.
522. IV. 29.16.
523. V. 18.56; VI (ii). 8. 5.
524. VI (ii). 99.34.
525. VI (ii). 214. 26.The word *hṛdaya* is changed to *hṛd* by Pāṇ. *hṛdayasya hṛllekhayadaṇlāseṣu* (6.3.50).
526. V. 50.50.
527. III. 107.6; 17; 114. 68; 5. 18. 52.
528. VI (ii). 134. 140.
529. VI (ii). 44.33.
530. III. 82. 37.
531. IV. 42 .8.
532. V. 61. 43.
533. VI (ii). 216.13.
534. IV. 59.50.
535. VI (i). 108.2.
536. VI (ii) 214.26.
537. VI (ii). 93.29.
538. VI (ii). 93.71
539. VI (ii).113.20
540. III. 26. 15; 6 (i). 104.29.
541. III. 50. 35; 4. 47. 43; 6 (ii). 206.20
542. VI (i). 126.23.
543. II. 13. 33; 5. 51. 35.
544. IV. 10. 20.
545. IV. 11. 56.
546. III. 107. 22.
547. ibid
548. ibid
549. V. 9.9.
550. VI (i). 127.8.

551. VI (ii). 51.32.
552. III. 116.2.
553. VI (ii). 127.3.
554. III. 38. 48.
555. III. 46. 31.
556. V. 1. 2.
557. V.34. 85.
558. V. 88. 15.
559. VI (ii). 125.5.
560. V. 48. 40. The commentator's explanation of *daiṣṭika* is: *diṣṭaṁ daivam eva matiḥ pravṛttinimittaṁ yasya*. This militates against the traditional interpretation of it in grammatical works which is: *asti diṣṭam iti matir yasya* according to which *daiṣṭika* should means fatalist or believer in Destiny.
561. III. 28. 29; 5. 31. 14; 6 (ii). 45.12; 71. 40; 141. 8.
562. VI (ii). 116. 3.
563. VI (ii). 47.5.
564. VI (ii).216.4.
565. V.20.9.
566. V.34.88
567. VI(ii).64.27
568. V.9.64; 6(ii).135.4
569. V.87.21
570. VI(ii).77.16; 103.3; 105.32
571. VI(ii).93.17; 112.35
572. V.19.18
573. V.19.18
574. V.34.87
575. V.1.8
576. VI(i), 128.7
577. 1.6.10; 2.1.20
578. VI(ii).128.3. *Ṭhak* by Pāṇ. *vinayadibhyaṣ ṭhak* (5.4.34)
579. IV.44.35. Formed on the analogy of words like *cāturvarṇya* vide the commentary; cāturvarṇyādivat svārthe ṣyañ.
580. VI(ii).26.8
581. V.91.57
582. IV.16.17. Formed on the analogy of the words like *cātūrvarṇya*
583. III.34.13; 6(ii).140021. The author of the *Vṛtti* seeks to justify the form by a vārttika; yamāc ceti vaktavyam which is not found in the *Mahābhaṣya*.

584. VI(i).128.6
585. IV.10.55; 13.6; 5.54.45. The word is not the peculiarity of the *Yogavāśiṣṭha* only, having been used by the aughors like Kalidāsa, vide Kumārsambhava.8.58.
586. VI(i).81.96
587. VI(i).105.30
588. V.91.57
589. VI(ii)175.76
590. VI(ii)94.77
591. Vide the commentary *Tātparyaprakāśa: grāmyaśabdāt svārthe ḍhakañ chāndasaḥ.*
592. VI(ii)216.4
593. V.9.9.216
594. V.50.33
595. VI(ii! 216.17.
596. VI.ii)181.26
597. VI.(ii(159.43.
598. VI(i|126.78.
599. VI.(i)57.18.
600. I.10.34.
601. II.14.54.
602. VI.(i| 30.43.
603. VI.(ii) 206.30.
604. VI(ii)134.14.
605. VI(ii) 159.6.
606. VI.(ii) 159.3.
607. IV. 38.7
608. VI(ii) 125.53.
609. VI.(ii)190.77
610. IV.54.19.
611. III.114.54.
612. VI.(ii)57.18
613. VI(ii)49.19
614. VI. (i:64.23
615. IV. 35.39
616. IV. 45.14
617. VI.(i( 92.39
618. IV.45.23
619. IV. 35.36

620. IV. 39.31
621. *sandhir nāma saṁskṛtasyāṅgam eva na bhavati, marmasthānam api, yadvināśe tatsvarūpapraṇāśaḥ .......ata eva vaidike laukike ca vāṅmaye vākye padānāṁ sandher abhāvo viralatamo mahatā yatnenātvneṣṭavyo bhavati ...... na kevalaṁ vākye'ntaḥ padānāṁ sandhim icchanti purā pūrve, kim tarhi nirapekṣayor vākyayor apy ādyantayoḥ padayos taṁ spṛhayanti. tathā ca'tiṣṭhatu dadhyaśāna tvaṁ śākene'ti vākyadvayam api saṁhitayā smoccārayanti. adyatve punar viparītaṁ paśyanti viparītam ca pravartante. vākye vaikalpikaḥ sandhiḥ puruṣavivakṣāpekṣa iti joghuṣyante. sarvathā'nityaḥ kvacid āsthīyeta, kvacin neti cātiṣṭhante, kārikāṁ cemāṁ pramāṇam udāharante saṁhitaikapade nityā nityā dhātūpasargayoḥ।*
*nityā samāse, vākye tu sā vivakṣām apekṣate॥*
*satyam iyam kārikā vākye sandhiṁ vivakṣāniyatam āha ........tathāpi ko'bhisandhir asyāḥ praṇetuḥ? kim eṣo'tra viṣaye kāmacāram anujānāti? yady evaṁ, kim iti purā sāhitye kvacid api taṁ kāmacārāṁ na saṁśiśriyire kavayaḥ. aham tu manye vyavasthita-vibhāṣeyam. tenāsya viṣayasaṁkoco 'nukto'pi gamyate. kā nāma saṁhitā? varṇānām ānantaryeṇoccāraṇam. āha ca sūtrakāraḥ-'paraḥ sannikaraṣaḥ samhite'ti. yac ca śāstreṇa sandhi-kāryam upadiṣṭaṁ sarvaṁ tat saṁhitāyāṁ satyam eva bhavati nāsaṁhitāyām.........*"Charudeva Shastri, Presidential Address to the fourth Annual Session of the Panjab Branch of the All India Sanskrit Sammelan, Amritsar, pp.5-7.
622. III.86.50.
623. V. 73.9
624. *sa eṣo 'dya sthito'ndhrāṇāṁ grāme bahulapādape* । V. 84.36.
625. V.56.18
626. V. 3.14
627. VI. (ii) 149.3
628. VI. (ii) 131.35
629. VI. (i) 74.22
630. II.3
631. V.14.32
632. V.14.19.
633. VI. (ii) 196.15
634. VI. (ii) 63.31
635. VI. (i) 106.52

636. VI.(ii) 137.53
637. VI.ii.201.34
638. 44 VI. (ii) 200.23
639. VI(i) 128.75
640. III. 114.66
641. III.115.9
642. 116.7
643. VI. (ii) 158.5
644. VI.(ii) 136.12
645. VI.(i) 124.11
646. III. 106.58
647. IV. 33.68
648. VI.(ii) 51.32
649. VI.(ii) 51.35
650. V.1 36.18
651. (V. 67.45)
652. By the Pāṇini *sūtra pāghrādhmāsthāmnā* etc. (7.3.78).
653. III.50.16
654. III. 84.45
655. VI.(i) 128.104
656. VI.(i) 59.11
657. VI.(i) 52.5
658. V. 52.11
659. IV. 61.16
660. IV. 57.24
661. VI.(ii) 78.16
662. V. 26.2
663. VI(i) 113.17
664. V. 61.36
665. III. 117.25
666. V 2.8.16
667. V. 41.3
668. V.46.15
669. V. 41.3.
670. VI. 25 ii. 129.45
671. VI.(ii) 114.13
672. III. 90.8
673. VI.(i) 81.96
674. vide Pāṇini, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* (6.1.111).

675. *sārvarsya tamaso niṣiddhaye*, *Kumārasambhava*, VIII.58.
676. IV. 10.55
677. IV. 13.6
678. V. 54.45
679. 4.3.11
680. VI.(ii) 50.25
681. V. 50.33
682. III.27.48
683. *Liṅgānuśāsana*, 35.
684. III. 38.2
685. IV. 35.57
686. 4.185
687. VI.(i) 143.7
688. *Ṛgveda*, 10.90.16.
689. Cf. *dharma ity apūrve pulliṅgaḥ, tatsādhane napuṁsakam. tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan*, *Kāśikā*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, p. 130.
690. VI.(ii) 29.32
691. On this see the author's book. *The Rāmāyaṇa-A Linguistic Study*, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1963.
692. VI.(ii) 44.18
693. *dvāvapy anyaliṅgau sthalaṁ sthalī*, Amara, 2.1.5.
694. VI.(ii) 145.36
695. VI.(ii) 129.23
696. See Amara., II. 9.47, *lājāḥ puṁbhūmni cākṣatāḥ*.
697. VI.(i) 106.56
698. VI.(i) 134.52
699. *tathā cidghanaś citaṁ cittvāc ca sarvāḥ śaktīḥ karmamayīr vāsanā-mayīr manomayīś cinoti darśayati, bibharti, janayati, kṣipayati ceti*, IV. 39.5.
   *kṣipayanti surā rāma bhuvo bhāranivṛttaye*, VI(i)52.21
   *pāṇḍoḥ putro'rjuno nāma sukhaṁ jīvitam ātmanaḥ।*
   *kṣipayiṣyati nirduḥkhaṁ tathā kṣepaya jīvitam॥* VI(i)52.9.
700. VI(i)52.9
701. V.80.4
702. V.12.2
703. III.115.32
704. VI.(ii) 146.9
705. IV.59.22

706. VI.ii.101.27
708. VI.i. 81.80
709. IV. 34.6
710. VI. 70.21
711. VI.i. 66.11
712. VI.i. 55.43
713. V. 24.8
714. V. 69.12
715. VI.ii.216.21
716. VI.ii. 45.61
717. III. 96.52.
718. VI.ii.61.4
719. *Meghadūta*, Pūrva, 9
720. VI.ii.155.28
721. VI.ii.98.4
722. IV.8.8
723. VI.ii. 206.19
724. IV.34.8
725. VI.ii.98.6
726. Cf. the *kārikā* by Sākaṭāyana in his *Dhātupāṭa*:
*dhātvarthaṁ bādhate kaścit kaścit tam anuvartate* ।
*tam eva viśinaṣṭy anya upasargagatis tridhā* ॥
727. In this connection it is profitable to quote the following interesting verse:
*prakāśitāyodhanasauṣṭhavo'tha*
*māyāsuro'nyatra vipakṣalokam* ।
*viruddha eko 'dhiraṇaṁ babādhe*
*prasahya dhātvartham ivopasargaḥ* ॥
*Caṇḍīstotra*, Canto 48, verse 61.
728. Cf. *pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate.*
729. VI (ii). 134.36.
730. VI (ii). 124.24.
731. *anubandhapare jantāv asaṁsaktena cetasā*, V. 77.13.
732. *abalām anubadhnāti mām eṣa kila nāṅgakaḥ*, IV. 7.22.
733. *rahasyaṁ śṛṇu bho rājan ........coditaḥ sandadhāsīdam*, VI (ii) 157.2.
734. *phalasandhīni karmāṇi*, V.18.16.
735. V. 12.5; V. 50.32.
736. IV. 38.6.

737. *dehaṁ tyaktvā'padeśānte (paraṁ pariṇatiṃ gataḥ)*, VI (ii). 158.4.
738. *nārīsaujanyacarcāsu vyapadeśyā bhaviṣyasi*, VI (i); 109.31.
739. VI (ii). 181.14.
740. IV. 57.28.
741. V. 82.20.
742. IV. 42.52.
743. *saṁsāramadirā seyam avidyety ucyate budhaiḥ anayopahato lokaḥ kalyāṇaṃ nādhigacchati*, IV.21.39-40.
744. *puṇyakṣayānusandhānāt ..... papātopahatākṛtiḥ*, IV. 8.15.
745. *vicitrakāryakartṛtvam āharad vāsanāvaśāt*, IV.42.35; *samatām alam āśritya samprāptaṁ kāryam āharan*, V. 13.39. *harṣāmarṣavinirmuktaḥ pratyahaṃ kāryam āharan* V.60.4;
746. *na hṛṣyanti na kupyanti nāviśanty āharanti ca*, VI (ii) 98.2. *anyacchrotum athāhartuṃ śāntaṁ necchati me manaḥ*, VI (ii) 201.13.
747. *Rāma nirvāsanībhāvam āharasva vivekataḥ* (Com. *āharasva =ātmany āpādaya*), IV.34.27; *upaśamasukham āharet pavitram*, V. 8.18.
748. *āhṛtya sarvabhogebhyo mano markaṭacañcalam*, V.1.9.
749. *punar apy āpharan dhanam*, v. 25.3.
750. *samprāptam āharan svastha ākāśa iva tiṣṭhati*, VI (ii). 134.14.
751. *tataḥ prabhṛty asau dṛśyaṁ nājahāra na vā 'tyajat*, V.12.3.
752. *Devāsurakuṭumbinyaḥ ......aparasparam āhṛtāḥ*, V. 41.40. As a matter of fact, this goes against the usage. The sense of *āṅ* is out of place. *Hṛ* alone could convey the sense of 'taking away' etc.
753. VI (ii). 106.24.
754. VI (ii). 134.14.
755. *na tv āhāryo guṇo sya saḥ*, V. 12.3.
756. This sense is very much related to the first and is in reality a corollary to it. *Prabhutābṛṁhitaṁ ceto nāhāryam abhinandati*, V.46.6.
757. VI (i). 1.22.
758. VI (ii). 138.15.
759. VI (ii). 95.9.
760. VI (ii). 180.33.
761. *tṛṣṇāsantyāgaṁ ca samāharet*, V. 24.52.
762. *guṇasamāhāraḥ*, V. 14.47.
763. *vāsanāhbhyaḥ samāhṛtya manaḥ*, V. 52.7.
764. *dānādānasamāhāravihāravibhavādikāḥ kriyāḥ (samāhāraḥ=sañcayaḥ)*, V. 74.48.

765. *nāsādyate hy anabhyastā ....... tasmād enāṁ samāhara*, V. 24.21, (*samāhara =abhyāsena sthirīkuru* -Commentator).
766. VI (ii). 198.34.
767. *dhanair abhyāhared bhavyān sujanān*, V. 24.66.
768. VI (ii). 216.15.
769. IV.46.7.
770. V.24.44.
771. IV.40.17.
772. *kuta ājātā kuta iyaṁ visṛṣṭiḥ*, RV. X.191.6.
773. IV. 60.9.
774. VI (ii). 181.8.
775. V. 85.9.
776. *vrajan paryākṛtau kūpe pātālatalabhīṣaṇe*, VI (i) 89.26.
777. VI (ii). 155.12.
778. IV. 38.16.
779. VI (i) 81.15.
780. VI (ii). 159.24.
781. VI (ii). 116.16. The commentary seems to read here *nigharṣaṇa* which in view of the sense of 'rubbing' yielded by it appears to be more reasonable. May be *nikarṣaṇa* is a corrupt form of *nigharṣaṇa*.
782. IV. 28.8.
783. Among its common senses is one 'interception' which is to be met with in the verse: *athaīvaṁvādinas tasya vākyam ākṣiptavān aham*, VI (ii). 152.9.
784. IV. 35.68.
785. VI (iii). 114.9.
786. V. 4.30.
787. *vadhūmukhauṣadhīpuṣpasamālambhanabhūmayaḥ*, VI (ii).6.26. The *Amarakoṣa*, however, reads *samālambhana* in the sense of 'pasting', 'smearing', *vilepa*.
788. *kuṅkumenotsave mṛtyoḥ samālabdhā iva srajaḥ*, III. 48.59.
789. *bhāvais tair eva tair eva tucchālambhaviḍambanaiḥ*, VI (ii).6.6.
790. *cireṇa parikhinnāḥ smo vipralambhāḥ punaḥ punaḥ*, VI (ii) 6.6.
791. VI (ii).93.77.
792. VI (ii). 214.26.
793. VI (ii). 200.54.
794. VI (ii). 145.47.
795. VI (ii). 190.57.

796. VI (ii). 59.19.
797. *vismayotkampitaśirā dhātuś ceṣṭāṃ parāmṛśat*, V. 48.13.; *mohāyaivāparāmṛṣṭāḥ sakalā lokasaṁvidaḥ*, IV. 59.6. *parāmṛṣṭaṁ viśiṣṭaṁ hi dṛṣṭaṁ naṣṭaṁ na bhāvitam*, V. 9.14. *na parāmṛśyate yo'ntaḥ sa jīvanmukta ucyate*, V. 16.21' *purvāparaparāmarśān nipuṇaṃ nipuṇāśyaḥ*, VI (ii) 131.27; *prānmṛṣṭaṁ kalpanādīnām anyaivārthakalāvatām*, VI (ii). 178.51.
798. VI (ii). 114.29.
799. VI (ii) 61.23.
800. VI (ii). 108.44.
801. VI (ii) 187.36.
802. V. 84.10.
803. VI (ii). 96.4.
804. III. 119.31.
805. VI (ii).174.7.
806. VI (ii) 186.80
807. V. 80.36.
808. V. 74.91.
809. IV. 33.38.
810. VI (ii). 186.79.
811. VI (ii) 134.36.
812. IV. 33.39.
813. VI (i). 1.13.
814. *ahaṅkārāṅkuraḥ kṛṣṭo hṛdayenāvaropitaḥ*, IV. 33.36.
815. VI. (i). 2.50.
816. V. 38.18.
817. *utsedham eti bhūkoṣakoṭarastho 'ṅkurotkaraḥ*, IV. 36.20, vide the commentary *utsedham= upacayena aunnatyam*.
818. VI (ii). 143.33.
819. *śeṣaṁ tu baddhasaṁsthānas tiṣṭhāmy acalaśṛṅgavat*, V. 86.4.
820. *bhāsamānāsanasthānasaṁsthānāḥ kusumasthalīḥ* VI (iii), 145.16. *nānyonyam api paśyanti nānāsaṁsthānasaṁsthānāḥ*, VI (ii) 94.78.
821. *saṁsthito yadi saṁkalpo duścikitsyaḥ svato bhavet*, IV. 54.33.
822. VI (ii). 185.17.
823. V. 75.23.
824. VI (ii). 115.23.
825. IV. 59.55.

826. VI (ii). 128.41. Com.-*aniṣṭhitaḥ=avyavasthitaḥ*.
827. VI (i). 128.58.
828. V. 40.10.
829. IV. 53.26.
830. V. 34.30.
831. *na hṛṣyanti na kupyanti nāviśanty āharanti ca*, VI (ii) 98.2.
832. *Vāmadevādayaś cānye viśvāmitrādayas tathā vasiṣṭhaṁ purataḥ kṛtvā tasthur āvarjanonmukhāḥ*, V. 1.34.
833. I. 10.6.
834. *jagatpadārthair āvṛttair uhyamānaiḥ parāvṛtaḥ*, VI (ii). 141.4; *jagad apy enam aniśaṁ vāyāvartavivartavat*, VI (ii). 144.3; *yathā dhūmasya nabhasi yathāmbhodhau mahāmbhasaḥ āvartavṛttayaś citrās tathā cidvyomni saṁsṛteḥ*, VI (ii) 100.42.
835. *khe'nisaṁ cakraṁ ṛkṣāṇāṁ guṇāvarto vivartate*, VI (ii). 66.11.
836. *utpattyotpatya līyante te tv āvartavivartayā*, VI (ii) 66.19.
837. *sayanāvṛttinikṣepaparyākulitaśekharam*, VI (i) 108.9. The printed Text reads *āvṛti* which is obviously a misprint for āvṛtti.
838. VI (ii). 66.11.
839. VI (ii). 66.19
840. *vivarto brahmaṇo dṛśyaṁ*, VI (ii) 97.5.
841. *kalpakṣobhavivṛttāni jaganti*, V. 48.2. But here too the basic idea of movement is present.
842. VI. (ii) 149.3.
843. IV. 21.2
844. I.10.
845. *vāsanātantubaddho yo loko viparivartate*, IV. 27.31.
846. *prāṇāpāna...*, VI (i) 73.53.
847. VI (ii). 56.25.
848. VI (i). 107.7.
849. V. 4.12.
850. V. 68.19.
851. V. 8.9.
852. v. 67.10.
853. VI (i). 26.11.

# 11

## A Note on the Word Yaugika

A very common word, *yaugika* is derived from the word *yoga* meaining *prakṛtipratyayārthasambandha,*union of the sense of the stem and the suffix or *avayavaniṣṭhatvavṛtti.* The formation of it is generally traced to the addition of *ṭhak* by Pāṇ. *tena nirvṛttam* (4.2.68) which of course, is not possible, for, the suffix by this *sūtra* is enjoined in the case of a place named after the one laying it, *deśe tannāmni,* e.g. *kuśāmbena nirvṛttā, nagarī kauśāmbī, kauśāmbī, the city laid by Kuśāmba.* Nor can it be formed by *tena nirvṛttam* (5.1.79) for it has connection with *kāla,* period, its example being *āhnika,* so called because it is carried out in *ahan,* a day. The only possibility of the formation of the word could be by *yogād yac ca* (5.1.102) which enjoins *ṭhan* along with *yat* in the sense of *tasmai prabhavati*, fit for it, which is carried forward into it from the preceding *tasmai prabhavati santāpādibhyaḥ* (5.1.101). *Yaugika,* therefore, is one which is fit for *yoga* the connection (in the sense of stem and suffiex).

**12**

# महाभारते निर्वचनानि

निर्वचनशब्दस्य कोऽर्थ इति प्रथमस्तावदस्माकं जिज्ञासाविषयः। निरुक्तटीकाकृता भगवता दुर्गाचार्येणास्य शब्दस्यार्थ एवं निरूपितः—*अपिहितस्यार्थस्य परोक्षवृत्तौ अतिपरोक्षवृत्तौ वा शब्दे निष्कृष्य विगृह्य वचनं निर्वचनम्।* यत्रैतादृशेषु शब्देषु परोक्षवृत्तिष्वतिपरोक्षवृत्तिषु वा शब्दार्थानां विगृह्य वचनं भवति तदुच्यते निर्वचनशास्त्रमिति, निरुक्तमिति वा। अयमत्र क्रमः। अमूर्तानां भावानामभिव्यञ्जनाय शब्दप्रयोगः। प्रयुक्ते च शब्दे कथं भावाभिव्यक्तिर्भवतीति विश्लेषणात्मिकया पद्धत्या साधनमावश्यकं भवति। तत्रैवं नाम शब्दस्य विश्लेषणं स्याद्येन तस्य चार्थस्य च सामञ्जस्यं प्रकाशेत, भवेत्स नाम कलयैव। अत एवार्थनित्यः परीक्षेतेति भगवतो यास्कस्य नैरुक्तं प्रति निर्देशः। निरुक्ते हि शब्दसाधने नाग्रहः, कथं शब्दसिद्धिर्भवति, का प्रकृतिः, कश्च प्रत्ययः, को वा संस्कारोऽपितु अर्थदृष्ट्या शब्दविश्लेषणे। अत एवाह यास्को 'न संस्कारमाद्रियेत'।

निरुक्तशास्त्रं तु निर्वचनान्येव प्रस्तौति। तत्रैव तस्य चरितार्थता। परं यन्नाम न निर्वचनशास्त्रं तत्रापि परश्शतानि निर्वचनानि दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति। ब्राह्मणेषु, सूत्रेषु, रामायणमहाभारतयोः, पुराणेषु अन्येषु वा नानाग्रन्थेषु निर्वचनानि पदानां प्रसक्तानु-प्रसक्ततयोपस्थापितानि तत्तद्ग्रन्थकर्तृभिः। तानि विचार्यं विचार्यं विम्रष्टव्यानि विमर्शकैः पुरातनी चिन्तनपद्धतिस्तेभ्य आविष्कृता भवेदिति। प्रायशो ध्वनिसाम्यार्थसाम्यप्रेरितानि हि तानि कदाचिन् नाद्यतनेभ्यो विपश्चिद्भ्यः स्वदेरन् दूराकृष्टानि वा प्रतीयेरंस्तथापि नानेनैव हेतुना तानि हेयताकोटिमाटीकेरन्निति धिया तानि विमर्शपदवीमापादयितव्यानि गुणदोषतश्च परिच्छेद्यानि। अस्मिन् प्रबन्धेऽस्माभिः श्रीमहाभारतात् तानि विचायं विचायमभ्युच्चित्य समासेनोपन्यस्यन्ते विचार्यन्ते च। महान् हि ग्रन्थराशिर्महाभारतं नाम। 'महत्त्वाद् भारवत्त्वाच्च (भारवत्त्वात् = सारवत्त्वात्, नीलकण्ठः) महाभारतमुच्यते' इति महाभारतनिर्वचनेनैवास्य महत्त्वं सुस्पष्टं भवति। अत्र हि स्थाने स्थाने यानि निर्वचनानि समुपन्यस्तानि तानि प्रसङ्गत एव न तु निर्वचनप्रदर्शनधियेति तथा

निरुक्तशास्त्रान्तर्गतेभ्यो निर्वचनेभ्योऽस्ति किञ्चिद्वैशिष्ट्यम्। एषु कानिचन निर्वचनानि परम्पराप्राप्तान्येव। ग्रन्थान्तरेष्वपि तथाऽपि तथाऽवलोकनात्। पुत्रशब्दस्य निर्वचनं दृष्टान्तरूपेणात्रोपस्थाप्यते—

*पुन्नाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात् त्रायते पितरं सुतः।*
*तस्मात् पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः पितॄन् यस्त्राति सर्वशः॥*

इत्यर्वाचीनवाङ्मयात् पुत् + त्र इत्येतत्पुत्रशब्दस्य निर्वचनमुपलभ्यते। एतादृशमेव निर्वचनं महाभारतेऽपि दृष्टिपथमुपयाति—

*पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्पुत्रो यस्मात्त्राता पितॄन् सदा।*
*तस्माद् ब्रुवन्ति पुत्रेति पुत्रं धर्मविदो जनाः॥*[2]

*पुन्नाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात् पितरं त्रायते सुतः।*
*तस्मात् पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा॥*[2]

*पितॄंस्त्राणात्तारयति पुत्र इत्यनुशुश्रुम।*[3]

*समुत्पन्नेन कौरव्य सत्पुत्रेण महात्मना।*
*त्रातः स पुरुषव्याघ्र पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्तदा॥*[4]

यास्केनाप्येतन्निर्वचनमुल्लिखितम्—पुत्रः पुरु त्रायते, निपरणाद्वा, पुन्नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा।

एवमेव जायाशब्दविषयेऽपि सुप्रसिद्धं निर्वचनमेवोपलभ्यते श्रीमहाभारते—

*आत्मा हि जायते तस्यां तस्माज्जाया भवत्युत।*[5]

जायतेऽस्यामिति जाया। जन् धातोर्व्युत्पन्नोऽयं शब्दः। अन्यत्रापीयमेवास्य निरुक्तिः प्रदर्शिता—

*तज्जायाया जायात्वं यदस्यां जायते पुनः।*

क्वचिन्निर्वचनेषु धातुविशेषस्य निर्देशोऽपि भगवता वेदव्यासेन कृतः। तथा हि कन्याशब्दः कमनार्थकात् कन् धातोर्निष्पन्न इति स प्राह—

*सर्वान् कामयते यस्मात् कनेर्धातोश्च भामिनि।*
*तस्मात् कन्येह सुश्रोणि स्वतन्त्रा वरवर्णिनि॥*[6]

क्षत्रियशब्दो महाकविना कालिदासेन 'क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः'[7]—इति ब्रुवता क्षत+त्रा इत्यस्मान्निरुक्तः। एतादृश्येव निरुक्ति-र्दृष्टिपथमुपयाति महाभारतेऽपि—

*क्षताच्च नस्त्रायतीति स तस्मात् क्षत्रियः स्मृतः।*

धर्मशब्दो धारणार्थकाद् धातोर्व्युत्पन्न इति 'धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुरि' त्यादिभ्यो वचनेभ्य उपलब्धं भवति। महाभारतकारोऽप्येवमाह—

*धर्मो हि धृतः कृत्स्नं धारयते जगत् ।*[7]

*धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।*
*यः स्याद् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥*[8]

*धनात्स्रवति धर्मो हि धारणाद् वेति निश्चयः ।*[9]

*धारणाद् धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः ।*
*यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥*[10]

राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनादितिरञ्ज्धातोर्निष्पत्तिरस्य शब्दस्याभिव्यज्यते यद्यपि तथापि यास्केनान्यैश्च शासनार्थकाद् दीप्त्यर्थकाद्वा राजृधातोरयं निरुक्तः। महाभारते पुनः प्रकृतिरञ्जनमेव राज्ञः प्रधानं कर्मेति मत्वा रञ्ज्धातोरेवास्य निरुक्तिः सूचिता—

*पृथुं वैन्यं प्रजा दृष्ट्वा रक्ताः स्मेति यदब्रुवन् ।*
*ततो राजेति नामास्य अनुरागादजायत ॥*[11]

*राजा रञ्जयति प्रजाः ।*[12]

*रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्द्यते ।*[13]

*पित्रापरञ्जितास्तस्य प्रजास्तेनानुरञ्जिताः ।*
*अनुरागात्ततस्तस्य नाम राजेत्यजायत ॥*[14]

*यमस्तु कर्मणा तेन भृशं पीडितमानसः ।*
*धर्मेण रञ्जयामास धर्मराज इमाः प्रजाः ॥*[15]

क्वचिन्महाभारतकार एकस्यैव शब्दस्य नाना निर्वचनानि प्रस्तौति यास्कीयं निरुक्तं च स्मारयति। तथाहि मित्रशत्रुशब्दौ निर्ब्रुवन् स आह—

*मित्रं मिदेर्नन्दतेः प्रीयतेर्वा संत्रायतेर्मानद मोदतेर्वा ।*
*ब्रवीति तच्चामुत विप्रपूर्वात्तच्चापि सर्वं मम दुर्योधनेऽस्ति ॥*[16]

*शत्रुः शदेः शासतेः शायतेर्वा शृणातेर्वा श्वयतेर्वाऽपि सर्गे ।*
*उपसर्गाद् बहुधा सूदतेश्च प्रायेण सर्वं त्वयि तच्च मह्यम् ॥*[17]

क्वचित् क्वचिद्विलक्षणान्येव निर्वचनानि दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति। तथाहि शरीरं शृणातेः शम्नातेर्वेति यास्कः, श्रयतेरिति तु वेदव्यासः।[18] पुरुषादः,पुरिशयः, पूरयतेर्वा, पूरयत्यन्तरिति वेति पुरुषशब्दस्य यास्ककृतानि निर्वचनानि परं विषहते[19], पुरं विषहते वेति[20] तु वेदव्यासकृते। धिनोतीति धनमिति यास्कः। धत्ते धारयते वेति वेदव्यासः।[22] ह्रियते आयम्यमानं, ह्रियते जनाज्जनं, हितं रमणं भवति हर्यतेर्वा स्यात्प्रेप्साकर्मण इति हिरण्यशब्दस्य नाना निर्वचनानि प्रस्तौति यास्को (निरुक्तम्, 2.3.10) हिरण्मयमित्येकमेव

तु वेदव्यासः।[21] अभ्यतितो गृहान् भवति, अभ्येति तिथिषु परकुलानि वेति अतिथिशब्दस्य यास्ककृते निर्वचने, अनित्यस्थितोऽतिथिरिति वेदव्यासकृतं निर्वचनम्।[23]

क्वचिच्छब्दाः प्रत्यक्षवृत्तयो भवन्ति। तत्र निर्वचनवृत्तिर्न क्लेशकरा। यथा क्षर्धतोः क्षरशब्दः—

*कृत्स्नमेतावतस्तात क्षरते व्यक्तसंज्ञकम्।*
*अहन्यहनि भूतात्मा ततः क्षर इति स्मृतः॥*[24]

एवमेव न क्षरम् अक्षरमिति अक्षरशब्दः—

*तदक्षरं न क्षरतीति यद्धि।*[25]

वसुधाशब्दो वसुपूर्वकाद् दधातेर्निष्पन्नो भवेदिति प्रत्यक्षमेव। तथैव च महाभारतम्—

*ररक्ष वसुसम्पूर्णां वसुधां वसुधाधिपः॥*[26]

*तस्येयं वसुसम्पूर्णा वसुधा वसुधाधिप।*[27]

*वसुधा वसुसम्पूर्णा वर्धते भूतिवर्धनी।*[28]

*आत्मप्रत्ययकोशस्य वसुधेयं वसुन्धरा।*[29]

प्रथनात्पृथिवीति प्रथ्धातोः पृथिवीशब्दव्युत्पत्तिः। सैवाध उद्धृते पद्ये ध्वन्यते—

*प्रथिता धनतश्चेयं पृथिवी साधुभिः स्मृता।*[30]

एकत्र पुनः पृथोरपत्यमिति पृथ्वीशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता—

*ततोऽभ्युपगमाद्राज्ञः पृथोर्वैन्यस्य भारत।*
*दुहितृत्वमनुप्राप्ता देवी पृथ्वीति चोच्यते।*[31]

मेदिनीशब्दे मेदःशब्ददर्शनान्मधुकैटभाख्यानमाश्रित्य तयोर्मेदसा परिप्लुतेत्यर्थे मेदःशब्दाद् भूमार्थे मत्वर्थीय इनिः, सकारलोपे मेदिनीशब्दव्युत्पत्तिप्रदर्शिता श्रीमहाभारते—

*आसीदियं समुद्रान्ता मेदिनीति परिश्रुता।*
*मधुकैटभयोः कृत्स्ना मेदसाऽभिपरिप्लुता॥*[32]

एवमेवोर्वीशब्दोऽपि विस्तृतार्थादुरुशब्दात्स्त्रियां व्युत्पादयितुं शक्योऽपि काश्यपमाख्यानमाश्रित्य ऊरुशब्दाद् व्युत्पादितः—

*ऊरुणा धारयामास कश्यपः पृथिवीं ततः।*
*निमज्जन्तीं तदा राजंस्तेनोर्वीति मही स्मृता॥*[33]

तदेतत्कल्पनोत्थं न विचारसहम्। ऊरुशब्दाद् व्युत्पत्तौ ऊर्वीतिशब्दप्रसक्तेरूकारह्रस्वत्वाभ्युपगमे गौरवप्रसङ्गाच्च।

शिलानां समूहः शैल इति शिलाशब्दात्समूहार्थेऽपि शैलशब्दः । सगरशब्दाच्चापत्यार्थेऽणि सागरशब्दः, उभावप्येतौ प्रत्यक्षवृत्ती। तथैव च महाभारतम्—

*तत उत्सारयामास शिलाः शतसहस्रशः ।*
*धनुष्कोट्या तदा वैन्यस्तेन शैला विवर्धिताः ।* [34]
*सागरत्वं च लेभे स कर्मणा तेन तस्य ह ।।* [35]

*खे चरतीति खेचरशब्दस्य* व्युत्पत्तिः। व्युत्पत्यनुसारी च महाभारतप्रयोगः-*अध्वानं सोऽतिचक्राम खेचरः खेचरन्निव।*

व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति वैयाकरणशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः। व्याङ्पूर्वकात्करोतेर्ल्युटि व्याकरणशब्दस्य सिद्धिः । व्याकरणमधीते वेद वेति वैयाकरण इति वैयाकरणशब्दस्य व्याख्यानम्। महाभारतकारेण '*सर्वार्थानां व्याकरणाद्वैयाकरण उच्यत*' [36] इति वैयाकरणशब्दे व्याङ्पूर्वकं करोतिं पश्यता समीचीनमेवाभ्यधायि। एवमेव '*श्रुतेन श्रोत्रियो भवती*' त्य[37] भिदधता। तेन सुप्रसिद्धैव श्रोत्रियशब्दस्य निरुक्तिः सूचिता। श्रुतेन श्रोत्रिय इति श्रुतशब्दाच्छोत्रियरूपनिष्पत्तिरित्यभिहितं भवति। श्रोत्रशब्दादेव यदि सा व्याख्यायिष्यत समीचीनतरकमभविष्यत्।

केषाञ्चन नगराणां नामानि तत्तद्वैशिष्ट्यं तत्तद्राजनिर्मितिं वाऽभिलक्ष्य व्याख्यातानि। तथा हि द्वारवती बहुद्वारेति कृत्वान्वर्थां संज्ञां लेभे। भूम्न्यत्र मतुब्व्याख्यातव्यो भवति। '*कृतां द्वारवतीनाम्ना बहुद्वारां मनोरमा* मि[38] ति महाभारते पाठः। अस्ति श्रावस्ती नाम नगरी। तस्यास्तन्नाम कुत इति चेदुच्यते—'*जज्ञे श्रावस्तको राजा श्रावस्ती येन निर्मिता।*'[39] एतदुचितमिव प्रतिभाति। निर्मातॄणां राज्ञां नाम्ना नैकासां नगरीणां ख्यातत्वदर्शनात्। न केवलं नगराणां नगरीणां वाऽन्येषामपि पदार्थानां तत्तद्वैशिष्ट्यवशान्नामोपलम्भ इति महाभारतकारः । तथा कुशवदाख्यस्य ह्रदस्य कुशेशयपद्मवत्त्वात्तथाविधं नाम सञ्जातमिति महाभारतवचसा ध्वन्यते—'*ह्रदश्च कुशवानेष यत्र पद्मं कुशेशयम्।*'[40] एवमेव वितरणैर्वृतत्वाद्वैतरणीति नदीविशेषस्य संज्ञा संवृत्तेति महाभारतकारः—*अत्र* '*वैतरणी नाम नदी वितरणैर्वृता।*' [41] विनशनमपि तथैव, सरस्वत्यास्तत्र नाशात्-अदर्शनात्—

*यस्मात्सा भरतश्रेष्ठ द्वेषान्नष्टा सरस्वती ।*
*तस्मात्तदृषयो नित्यं प्राहुर्विनशनेति ह ।।* [42]

बाह्लीकदेशस्यापि तथाविधा संज्ञा बाह्लीकाख्यानां पिशाचानां वशादेव संवृत्ता। बाह्लीकशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिर्महाभारतकारेण बहिरिति ह्लीक इति च पिशाचयोः कयोश्चन नामविशेषाभ्यामेव प्रदर्शिता-

*बहिश्च नाम ह्लीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ।*
*तयोरपत्यं बाह्लीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ।।* [43]

बहि+ह्लीक इति बह्लीकः। यद्येतद्यथार्थं स्यात्तर्हि भाषाशास्त्रिणां समाक्षरलोपन्यायोऽत्र प्रवृत्तिमापन्न इति प्रतिभाति। तेन च पूर्वहकारलोपः। तत्क्षतिसमारोपणाय च पूर्वाकारस्य दीर्घः।

क्वचित्पूर्वाख्यानान्याश्रित्य शब्दा निरुच्यन्ते महाभारतकारेणेति मेदिनीशब्दप्रसङ्गे पूर्वमेवावोचाम। सैव प्रवृत्तिर्निषादशब्दनिर्वचनप्रसङ्गेऽप्यवलोक्यते। अधार्मिकस्य वैन्यस्य मथ्यमानादूरोः समुद्भूतः कश्चन ह्रस्वः कृष्णवर्णः पुरुषः। तमत्रिरुवाच निषीदेति। यतो हि स निषीदेत्युक्तः, तत एव निषादेति संज्ञया ख्यातः-निषीद–निषाद।[44] तदेतत् कल्पनोत्थमशास्त्रीयं च भाति । एतादृशानि निर्वचनानि कौतुकमेव जनयन्ति केवलं, न तु ज्ञानसमृद्धिमित्यलं वाचां विस्तरेण।

महाभारते नैकेषां राज्ञाम्, ऋषीणां, देवानां च नामानि निरुक्तानि। तत्र विशेषतो राज्ञाम् ऋषीणां च नामनिर्वचने यत्किञ्चिद् ध्वनिसाम्यमाख्यानमाध्यमेन अर्थौचित्यं च प्रयोजकं महाभारतकारस्याभवत्तच्च पूर्ववदेव कौतुकवर्धकमेव। तथाहि क्षुधातोरिक्ष्वाकुशब्दः। *यन्मनुरक्षौत्तत इक्ष्वाकुः।*[45] अत्र क्षसादृश्यादेव क्षवतेरिक्ष्वाकुशब्दो निरुक्तः। एवमेवौर्वशब्दस्य निरुक्तिरूरुशब्दात्प्रदर्शिता। ऊरोरयमिति और्वः। ऊरूं विनिर्भिद्य जातः[46] इति पुरातनमाख्यानमपि नाम्न औचित्यप्रदर्शनाय उद्धृतम्। तथैव सत्यव्रतः पितृपरितोषगुरुदोग्ध्रीवाप्रोक्षितोपयोगरूपत्रिविधशङ्कु(व्यतिक्रम)दर्शनात् वसिष्ठेन त्रिशङ्कुरित्युक्तस्तथैव च प्रसिद्धिं गतः।[47] दण्डाभिधस्य राज्ञो दण्ड इति नामापि अनन्तजनानां दमनाद्वा अशिष्टानां दण्डनाद्वा यथार्थमिति कृत्वा दमेर्दण्डेर्वा निरुक्तं महाभारतकारेण।[48] राजा कुवलाश्वः धुन्धुवधाद् धुन्धुमार इत्याख्यां गतः।[49] प्रथनात्पृथुरिति राज्ञः पृथोर्नाम्नो व्युत्पत्तिर्लोकान्प्रथयिष्यतीति कृत्वा।[50] तथैव प्रजानां भरणाद् भरत इत्याख्या। एताः सर्वा निरुक्तय ऋजुतया बुद्धिमुपारोहन्ति औचित्यकोटिं च नातिक्रामन्ति। मान्धातृशब्दस्य निरुक्तिस्तु नैतादृशी। मां धास्यतीति मान्धातेति प्राचीनाख्याने शतक्रतोरुक्त्या तन्नामप्रसिद्धेः।[51] अत्र मामिति पदस्य पानार्थकेन धेट्धातुना योगे रूपसिद्धिः। ध्वनिसाम्यमेवैतादृशनिर्वचने प्रमुखं प्रेरकम्। कथानकयोगस्तु तन्निर्वाहायेति नातितिरोहितं स्यात्प्रेक्षावताम्। यदरोदीत्तद्रुदस्य रुद्रत्वमितिवदेतादृश्यः सर्वा अपि निरुक्तयो निरुक्त्याभासा एव निरुक्तिप्रयासा एव वा विद्वन्मनोविनोदफलकाः। वसुमनसो राज्ञो नाम्नो निर्वचनं तु स्पष्टमेवेति सुग्रहम्। वसुशब्दस्तत्र प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिर्मनः शब्दश्च।[52] विकुक्षित्वाद्विकुक्षिरिति तन्नाम्नो याथार्थ्यम्।[53] अत एव सोऽयोधतां प्राप्त इति भगवद्वेदव्यासोक्तिः। शशमत्तीति शशाद इति शशादाख्यस्य राज्ञो नामापि निर्वक्तुमशक्यम्। एतन्निर्वचनं चास्य शब्दस्य शशं भक्षयित्वा शशादो मृगयां गत[54] इत्यनेन सूच्यते। अयं शब्दोऽपि प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिरेव। नाम्नो धातोश्च प्रत्यक्षावभासित्वात्। यद्यपि नाम बहुधा यादृच्छिकमेव भवति, संज्ञिनः शशादत्वं भवतु वा मा वा भूत्ततथापि तादृशार्थोपलम्भात् संज्ञायां तथा व्याख्यानप्रवृत्तेः। एतादृशमेव व्याख्यानं सगरशब्दस्यापि। सह गरेणेति सगरः। सहस्य सभावे रूपम्। एतन्नामयाथार्थ्य-

प्रतिपादनायापि पुरातनमाख्यानमेकं समुपस्थापि महाभारतकारेण। विदुलासञ्जयसंवादे सम्यग् जयति शत्रूनिति सञ्जय इति तन्नाम्नो निरुक्तिर्विदुलोक्त्या ध्वनिता भवति। नाम्ना सञ्जयोऽपि सन् त्वं तादृशो नासीति तदुक्तेः।[55] सर्वं दमयतीति सर्वदमन[56] इति सर्वदमनशब्दस्य व्याख्या महाभारतीया। एकत्र महाभारते काशिराजसुतायाः श्वफल्कपत्न्या गान्द्या उल्लेखः। 'गा ददातीतिगान्दी'[57] ति तस्या नामनिर्वचनमपि निर्दिष्टम्। सामान्यतस्त्वनया व्युत्पत्त्या गोदा इति नाम्ना भवतिव्यम्। अत्र पुनः गान्दीति नाम गोशब्दस्य गाम् आदेशः, टाप् स्थाने च ङीष्योगः। उपरिष्टान्निर्दिष्टानां निरुक्तीनां सम्यक्परीक्षणेनैतदवदातं भवति यद् महाभारतकारदृष्ट्या नाम्नो यथार्थत्वमस्त्येव। निर्वचनदृष्ट्या नामतो ये गुणा ज्ञानकर्मीभवन्ति तेषां व्यक्तिविशेषेष्वस्ति विद्यमानत्वम्। तेनार्थस्य निर्वचनस्य चास्त्यविच्छिन्नः सम्बन्धः। यतो ह्यमुको गुणोऽमुके जनेऽतोऽस्य तन्नामधेयमित्येष क्रमो नामनि व्यक्तिविशेषे च संस्थापितो महाभारतकारेण। तदेतदर्थनित्यः परीक्षेतेतेत्यस्यैवोपबृंहणमिति नापेक्ष्यते बहु वचः।

महाभारते कुन्तीपुत्रोऽर्जुनो नानानामभिर्निर्दिष्टो धनञ्जय-विजय-श्वेतवाहन-किरीटि-बीभत्सु-अर्जुन-जिष्णु-कृष्णैः। तत्र सर्वाण्येव नामानि यथार्थानीति महाभारतकारः। तत्र नानावैशिष्ट्यवत्त्वात्तस्य कृते नानानामानि प्रसिद्धिमागतानि। प्रत्येकं च नाम यथार्थम्। व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यस्य तदर्थस्य नाम्न्यौचित्यदर्शनात्। एवं हि महाभारतकारोऽर्जुनस्य प्रत्येकं नाम्नो निर्वचनमुखेनौचित्यं प्रतिपादयति—

*सर्वाञ्जनपदाञ्जित्वा वित्तमाच्छिद्य केवलम् ।*
*मध्ये धनस्य तिष्ठामि तेनाहुर्मां धनञ्जयम् ।।*

*अभिप्रयामि सङ्ग्रामे यदहं युद्धदुर्मदान् ।*
*नाजित्वा विनिवर्तामि तेन मां विजयं विदुः ।।*

*श्वेताः काञ्चनसंनाहा रथे युज्यन्ति मे हयाः ।*
*सङ्ग्रामे युध्यमानस्य तेनाहं श्वेतवाहनः ।।*

*उत्तराभ्यां च पूर्वाभ्यां फल्गुनीभ्यामहं दिवा।*
*जातो हिमवतः पृष्ठे तेन मां फाल्गुनं विदुः ।।*

*पुरा शक्रेण मे दत्तं युध्यतो दानवर्षभैः ।*
*किरीटं मूर्ध्नि सूर्याभं तेन माहुः किरीटिनम् ।।*

*न कुर्यां कर्म बीभत्सं युध्यमानः कथञ्चन।*
*तेन देवमनुष्येषु बीभत्सुरिति मां विदुः ।।*

*उभौ मे दक्षिणौ पाणी गाण्डीवस्य विकर्षणे।*
*तेन देवमनुष्येषु सव्यसाचीति मां विदुः ।।*

*पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।*
*करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ।।*

*अहं दुरापो दुर्धर्षो दमनः पाकशासनिः।*
*तेन देवमनुष्येषु जिष्णुनामास्मि विश्रुतः।।*

*कृष्णावदातस्य सतः प्रियत्वाद् बालकस्य वै।*
*कृष्ण इत्येव दशमं नाम चक्रे पिता मम।।*[58]

अत्र धनञ्जयतीति धनञ्जयः, विजयते इति विजयः, श्वेतानि वाहनानि अस्येति श्वेतवाहनः, फल्गुनीभ्यां जात इति फाल्गुनः, किरीटमस्यास्तीति किरीटी, बीभत्सं (कर्म) नास्तीति बीभत्सुः-अबीभत्सुः बीभत्सुः, नञोऽत्र लोपः, सव्येनापि सचते गाण्डीवविकर्षण इति सव्यसाची, अर्जुनः (शुक्लः) इत्यर्जुनः, जयति परान् अभिभवतीति जिष्णुः, कृष्ण इति कृष्ण इत्येवंरूपेणार्जुनस्य दशनाम्नां व्याख्यानं सूचितं महाभारतकृता।

मीमस्य पुत्रो घटोत्कचोऽपि कथं तामाख्यामलभतेत्यपि निर्दिष्टं महाभारते। यतो हि स मातरं घटमासोत्कच इत्यभ्यभाषत ततोऽस्य घटोत्कच इति संज्ञा पप्रथे।[59] घटमासोत्कच > घटोत्कच। अत्र भासशब्दस्यान्तर्वर्तिनो लोपः। एवमेवं रावणशब्दोऽपि रुधातोर्ण्यन्ताद् व्याख्यातः, रावयति लोकान् इति कृत्वा।[60] रामायणेऽप्ययं शब्द एवमेव व्याख्यातः-

*यस्माल्लोकत्रयं चैतद्रावितं भयमागतम्।*
*तस्मात्त्वं रावणो नाम नाम्ना राजन् भविष्यसि।।*[61]

'रावणो लोकरावण'[62] इत्यनेनापि इयमेव निरुक्तिः सूचिता भवति।

अथ ऋषीणां नामनिर्वचनान्युपक्रम्यन्ते। महर्षिधौम्याख्याने शिष्येणोपमन्युना गुरोराज्ञया जलनिरोधार्थं केदारखण्डमेव दारितम्। ततश्च उद्दारणादुद्दालक इति तस्य संज्ञा पप्रथे।[63] उद्दारकः > उद्दालकः। रलयोरभेदः। कश्यप ऋषिः काश्यानि शरीराणि पाति रक्षति पिबति भुङ्क्ते पाययति शोषं याति वेति तथासञ्ज्ञकः।[64] काश्य > कश्य + पा = कश्यपः। काश्यपो मार्तण्ड इत्यप्युच्यते। मृतोऽण्ड इति मृताण्डः। मृताण्ड एव मार्तण्डः।[65] आकारह्रस्वः। गौतमो गोदमो गां भूमिं स्वर्गं च दमयति वशीकरोतीति।[66] गोदम > गौतम। दकारस्य तकारः। ओकारस्य औकारः। गालवस्तु विश्वामित्रपत्न्या गले बद्ध[67] इति प्राचीनाख्यानम्। तस्मादेव तस्य तादृश्याख्या। गलबद्ध > गालव। अकारस्य दीर्घः। बकारस्य वकारो, दकारधकारयोश्च लोपः। जमदग्निशब्दस्यातिविलक्षणैव निरुक्तिर्दत्ता महाभारते–जाजमद्यज्ञशब्दाज्जमदग्निशब्दो निष्पन्नः।[68] भूयो भूयोऽतिशयेन जमन्ति युगपदनेकेषु यज्ञादिष्वनेकवारं पुनः पुनर्भक्षयन्ति हवींषि ते जाजमन्तो देवाः। इज्यन्ते देवता अस्मिन्निति यज्ञोऽग्निः। जाजमद्यज इत्यत्राद्यपदे प्रथमाक्षरलोपे द्वितीयस्याग्नित्वे जमदग्निरिति रूपम्। जाजमत् जमत् यज अग्निः। जमत् अग्नि जमदग्निः। जाजमन्तोऽग्निश्चास्मिन् सन्तीति जमदग्निमान्। ततो मतुब्लोपेन जमदग्निरिति पदम्। भरद्वाजशब्दस्य महाभारते 'प्रजा वै वाजस्ता एष

बिभर्ति यद्विभर्ति तस्माद् भरद्वाज' इति श्रुत्यनुसारिण्येव निरुक्तिः प्रदर्शिता। सुतशिष्यद्विजभार्यां बिभर्तीति भरद्वाजः।[69] अत्र शत्रन्तो बिभर्तिः प्रथमपदम्। वाजश्चेति द्वितीयः। एवं भरद्वाजः साहसमन्नं वा यस्येति भरद्वाजशब्दस्य व्याख्यानम्। यदि प्रथमपदमकारान्तो भरशब्दः, द्वाजशब्दश्च द्वितीयस्तर्हि पुत्रादीन् बिभर्तीति भरः। द्वाभ्यां जातः द्वाजः, सङ्करज इत्यर्थः पर्यवस्यति। अङ्गिरस्‌शब्दस्याङ्गारशब्दान्निरुक्तिः महाभारते प्रदर्शिता।[70] सा तु अङ्गारसदृशाक्षरयोजनायास्तत्र दर्शनादेव। अङ्गार > अङ्गिरा। आकारस्येकारः, अकारस्य चाकारः। एवमेवात्रिशब्दो रात्रिशब्दस्यैव परिवर्तितरूपम् इति निर्देशो महाभारते।[71] अरात्रि > अत्रि। मध्यवर्तिनो रा इत्यक्षरस्यात्र लोपः कल्प्यः। अरयः कामादयः सन्त्यस्मिन्नित्यरं पापं तस्मात्त्रायत इत्यरात्रिः। अरिशब्दान्मत्वर्थीय अर्शआद्यचि यस्येतीकारलोपे अरमिति सिध्यति। यस्मादरात्रिस्त-स्मादत्रिः। नीलकण्ठेन महाभारतटीकाकृता अन्तीत्यद् मृत्युस्तस्मात्त्रायत इत्यत्रिः (अद्+त्रा) इत्यपराऽपि व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता। सा हि साधने लाघवान्मूलपाठादुचिततरा प्रतीयते। भृगुशब्दो महाभारते भ्रस्ज् धातोर्व्युत्पादितः भृज्जति इति भृक्।[72] नीलकण्ठेन भृज्जतीत्यस्य पावयतीत्यर्थः कृतः। पाणिनिधातुपाठे पुनः पाकार्थको भृज्जतिः। तेन भृज्जति पचतीति तेनार्थः स्यात्। स्यान्नाम नीलकण्ठस्तात्पर्यार्थमत्र ब्रूते। पाकेनानिष्टस्य दाहात् पावनत्वसम्भवः। भृगिति क्विबन्तादुकारः प्रत्ययः कल्प्यः। भृज्जति पावयतीति भृक्, उकारप्रत्यये कृते भृगुः पावकोऽग्निर्वा, अग्निज्वाला वा। तेन भृगुशब्दस्य साक्षाज्ज्वालेत्येवार्थः। वसिष्ठष्य ऋषेर्नाम महाभारते द्विधा निरुक्तम्। वसुमच्छब्दाच्च वस्तृशब्दाच्च।[73] तत्र वसुमच्छब्दो यदि प्रकृतिस्तर्हि तस्मादिष्ठनि मतुब्लोपे टिलोपे च वसिष्ठ इति रूपम्। यदि वस्तृशब्दः प्रकृतिस्तर्हि तस्मादिष्ठनि टिलोपे च वसिष्ठ इति रूपम्। एतद्व्युत्पत्तिद्वयाभिप्रायेणैव *वसिष्ठत्वाच्च वासाच्च वसिष्ठ* इति महाभारतोक्तिः। विश्वामित्रशब्दविषयेऽस्ति श्रुतिः—*विश्वस्य ह वै मित्रं विश्वामित्र आस।* एतया विश्वस्य मित्रं विश्वामित्रशब्दस्य *व्युत्पत्तिः* सूच्यते। यास्केनापि सर्वमित्र इति व्याख्याता विश्वस्य सर्वस्य मित्रम् इति विश्वामित्रशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिरूरीकृता। महाभारते पुनर्द्विविधाऽस्य व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता। विश्वासां सर्वासां गवामिद्रयाणां मित्रमिति विश्वामित्रः, विश्वे देवता मित्रमस्येति च विश्वामित्रः।[74] विश्वशब्दो हि सर्ववाची। सर्वत्वं च यस्य कस्यापि भवितुमर्हति। इन्द्रियाणां वा देवानां वाऽन्येषामपि येषां केषाञ्चित्। अतः स्वाभिप्रायानुसारेण महाभारतकारव्याख्यानम्। महाभारतकारो हि भगवान् वेदव्यासः। स वेदान् विव्यासेति तस्य यथार्थं नाम वेदव्यास इति। वेदानां व्यासः शाखाभेदेन विस्तार इति वेदव्यासः।[75] अत्र धर्मधर्मिणोरभेदाद्येन वेदव्यासः कृतः सोऽपि वेदव्यासः संवृत्तः। द्वैपायन इति वेदव्यासस्यापरा संज्ञा। मात्रा सत्यवत्या स यमुनाद्वीपे परित्यक्तो जातमात्र एव। अत एव तस्य नाम द्वैपायन इति। द्वीपमेव अयनं न्यासस्थानं यस्य स द्वीपायनः। द्वीपायन एव द्वैपायनः।[76] स्वार्थे तद्धितः। ब्रह्मणः पुत्रस्य सनत्कुमारस्य नाम्नो निर्वचनमप्युपलभ्यते महाभारते। प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिरेष

न्द्रि

शब्द इति नास्त्यस्य दुरूहता। निरन्तरार्थकः सनत्कुमारः। सनत् कुमार इति सनत्कुमारः।[77] निरन्तरकुमार इत्यर्थः। कुमार इव रागादिद्वेषशून्यः। यथोत्पन्नः कुमारो रागद्वेषादिशून्यो भवति तथा नैरन्तर्येण प्रवृद्धोऽपि रागद्वेषादिशून्य इति तन्नाम्नस्तस्मिंश्चरितार्थता। गण्डस्य ऋषेर्नाम महाभारते गडिधातोर्निरुक्तम्।[78] अत्र पाठान्तरे धातोरर्थोऽपि निर्दिष्टः।[79] स च स एव यः पाणिनिना धातुपाठे प्रतिपादितः, गडिवदनैकदेश इति। उन्नतगण्डत्वा-दृषेर्गण्ड इति नाम। एवमेव पशूनां सखा इति पशुसखस्य ऋषेरन्वर्थकं नाम।[80] एवमेवान्वर्थकं नाम शुनःसखस्यापि।[81] शुनः सखा इति शुनःसखः। ऋषिपत्नीनां नामसु विशेषतोऽरुन्धत्या नामनिर्वचनमेव निर्दिष्टं महाभारते। भर्तुर्वसिष्ठस्यानन्तरम-व्यवधानेन मनो रुन्धतीति तस्या तादृशी समाख्या।[82] अरुषोऽतिकठिनान् धरादीन् दधातीत्यरुन्धतीति दकारलोपेन नुमागमेन च तद्रूपनिष्पत्तिः। अनुरुन्धतील्यत्र नुकारलोपेन वा।

हरिवंशे योगधर्मनिरतानां हंसानामुल्लेखः। तेषु अणुहत्येत्येकस्य नाम निर्दिष्टम्। तन्नाम्नः अणून् सूक्ष्मान् अर्थान् हन्ति प्राप्नोतीति निर्वचनम् 'अणुं पदमध्यगमत'[83] इति वचसा सूचितं महाभारते।

सम्प्रति देवतानां नामान्यधिकृत्य प्रस्तूयते महाभारतीयेषु निर्वचनेषु विचारः। अश्विनाविति देववैद्यौ सुप्रथितौ। व्यश्नुवाते सर्वे रसेनाथवौर्णवाभमतेन अश्वैरश्विनौ, अश्ववन्ताविति अश्विशब्दस्य यास्केन प्रदर्शिते निरुक्ती। महाभारतकारोऽपि अश्वशब्दादेवास्य निर्वचनं मन्यते। केवलं तत्रार्थभेदः। और्णवाभमतेन अश्ववन्तावश्विनौ इत्यर्थः महाभारतकारमतेन अश्वस्यापत्यमश्विनावित्यर्थः।[84] महाभारतेऽश्व-रूपान्मार्तण्डादनयोरुत्पत्तिर्वर्णिता। तेन तन्मतेऽपत्यार्थेऽत्र इनिः स्यात्। मरुच्छब्दस्यापि महाभारते विलक्षणमेव निर्वचनमुपलभ्यते। मरुतो मितराविणो मितरोचिनो वा, महद् द्रवन्तीति वेति यास्कोक्त्या मित+रु, मित+रुच्, महद्+द्रु इति प्रकृतिभ्यो मरुच्छब्दव्युत्पत्तिः। महाभारतकारमतेन पुनः मा+रुद् प्रकृतेरस्य व्युत्पत्तिः।[85] मा शब्दाकारह्रस्वत्वे मरुद् अथवा मरुत् शब्दनिष्पत्तिः परिस्फुटैव। दित्यां कश्यपेनाहितो गर्भ इन्द्रेण वज्रेण पाटितः, पाट्यमानश्च स रुरोद। मा रोदीरिति तमिन्द्रोऽभ्यभाषत। तेन खण्डशः कृताद् गर्भात्सभुद्भूतानां देवानां मरुदिति सञ्ज्ञेति महाभारतीयमाख्यानम्। विशिष्टाग्निनामसु पुष्टिमतिरित्येकं नाम पुष्टिं प्रयच्छतीति सतः।[86] पुष्टिरस्यास्तीति पुष्टिमान्। यस्य पुष्टिरस्ति स पुष्टिं प्रदातुमपि शक्नोति। पुष्टिमच्छब्दादिकारः प्रत्ययः। तेन पुष्टिमतिरिति रूपम्। अपरस्याग्निविशेषस्य महाभारते निर्दिष्टं नाम भरत इति भरतीति सतः।[87] निगदव्याख्यात एष शब्दः। एवमेव निगदव्याख्यातौ स्तः स्वयम्भूसावित्रीशब्दौ। स्वयम्भूतो जात इति स्वयम्भूः।[88] सवित्रा प्रोक्तेति सावित्री।[89] 'तिस्र एव देवता इति नैरुक्ताः। तासां माहाभाग्यादेकैकस्या अपि बहूनि नामधेयानि भवन्ति। अपि वा कर्मपृथक्त्वादि' ति यास्कः। देवतानां माहाभाग्यं कर्मपृथक्त्वं वा तासां नानानामसु हेतुरिति यास्काशयः। अतो हेतोरेव विष्ण्वादिदेवानां नानानामानि

महाभारते यत्र तत्र दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति तद्देवदृष्ट्यौचित्यदिशा च निरुक्तानि महाभारतकारेण। तत्र प्रथमं तावद्विष्णुनामान्युपक्रम्यन्ते। तन्नामनिर्वचनमेकैकश उद्योगपर्वणि हरिवंशे च विशेषतो निरूपितम्। तथा हि न च्यवते इत्यच्युतः।[90] न जायत इत्यजः,[91] अधो न क्षीयते जातु इत्यधोक्षजः,[92] उत्तरपदावयवलोपः, अथवा अध इति पृथिवी, अक्षू व्याप्तौ इत्यतोऽक् आकाशः, ते उभे अधोक्, पृथिवीनभसी स जयति सङ्गेन धारयतीति अधोक्षजः, *अधोक्+स+जः*, नकारलोपे अधोक्षजः, अथवा पृथक्पदैरेवास्य निर्वचनम्,[93] तथाहि अतन्ति सततं गच्छन्त्यस्मिन्निति अः, अत सातत्य गमन इत्यतः, तकारलोपः, धोक्षः दुह प्रपूरण इत्यस्मादौणादिकः सः, गुणभष्भावौ, जायतेऽस्मात् सर्वमिति जः, अ+धोक्ष+जः अधोक्षजः, जगल्लयस्थितिजन्मस्थानमित्यर्थः, इन्द्रस्योपरि स्थापित इत्युपेन्द्रः,[94] अत्र रिलोपः, उपरि+इन्द्र, उप+इन्द्र उपेन्द्रः, भूवाचकः = सत्तावाचकः शब्दः कृषिः, कृषि+णः कृष्णः,[95] इकारलोपः, कृषति भूमिमिति वा कृष्णवर्ण इति वा कृष्णः,[96] केशिनं वाति हिनस्तीति केशवः,[97] केशि+वः (मत्वर्थीयस्येनेर्लोपः), केशाः अंशवः सन्त्यस्येति वा केशवः[98] (मत्वर्थीयो वः), कः ब्रह्मा, ईशः शिवः स्तोऽस्य, तदङ्गसम्भूतत्वादिति वा केशवः,[99] परशुखण्डनात् खण्डपरशुः,[100] गा गोपायति पातीति गोपः,[101] गा विन्दतीति गोविन्दः,[102] गवामिन्द्र इति वा गोविन्दः[103], (अत्र वकारागमो रकारलोपश्च), गां वाणीं वेद इदि वा गोविन्दः[104] जनं दस्युजनमर्दयतीति जनार्दनः,[105] जयतीति जिष्णुः,[106] त्रीणि ककुदानि उच्चप्रदेशाः सन्त्यस्येति त्रिककुद्,[107] उत् उत्कर्षेण प्रकाशत इत्युदरः, दमोऽस्यास्तीति दामः, दामश्चासावुदरश्चेति दामोदरः,[108] नराणामयनो नारायणः,[109] नारा आपोऽयनं यस्येति वा नारायणः,[110] पुण्डरीकमिव पुण्डरीकं हृदयकमलं धाम तत्र सन्नपि न क्षीयत इति पुण्डरीकाक्षः[111] पूरणात्सदनाच्च पुरुषः, स चासावुत्तमश्चेति पुरुषोत्तमः,[112] पूरयतीति पूरुः, सीदन्त्यस्मिन्निति सः तस्मात् पुरुषः, पुरुषश्चासावुत्तमश्चेति पुरुषोत्तमः, बृहत्त्वाद् बृंहणत्वाच्च ब्रह्म, मधुं तन्नामकं दैत्यं सूदयति नाशयतीति मधुसूदनः,[113] मधूनि इन्द्रियाणि सूदयति इति वा मधुसूदनः,[114] सर्वतत्त्वमयत्वान्मधूनि पृथिव्यादीनि हन्ति संहरति गच्छन्ति वा एनमिति मधुहा,[115] मां धीं वृत्तिं मौनाद् ध्यानाद्योगाच्च धवयति दूरीकरोतीति माधवः,[116] मा = विद्या तस्या धवः स्वामीति वा माधवः,[117] मननान्मुनिः,[118] यमनाद्यतिः,[119] वसनाद् वासुदेवः, वस्ते आच्छादयति, मायया आवृणोतीति वा, वस्यति स्तभ्नाति भुवनमिति वा, वसत्यस्मिन् भुवनमिति वा वासुः, देवो द्योतमानश्चेति वासुदेवः,[120] वसन्ति देवा अस्मिन्निति वा वासुदेवः (बृहत्त्वाद् व्यापकत्वात्), वेवेष्टि सर्वमिति विष्णुः,[121] वृषं धर्मं भसयतीति वृषभो वेदः तदेव ईक्षणं चक्षुरिव ज्ञापकं यस्येति वृषभेक्षणः,[122] वृषो = धर्मः, कपिः = श्रेष्ठः, वृषाकपिः,[123] (अकारदीर्घः), धर्मश्रेष्ठ इत्यर्थः, विशब्दः पक्षिवाची, व्योमचारित्व-सामान्याद्वायुतेजोमेघरूपवाची च, कुः पृथिवी, ठः आकाशः, एतेषां समाहारो विकुण्ठम् (णकारागमः), विकुण्ठानां श्लेषणकर्ता इति वैकुण्ठः,[124] अथवा विगता कुण्ठा

पञ्चानां भूतानां मेलने सामर्थ्यमस्येति विकुण्ठः, स एव वैकुण्ठः[125] (स्वार्थे तद्धितः), शिपिना = निष्कलेन रूपेण आविष्टं यत्किञ्चिदनेनेति शिपिविष्टः[126] (आकारलोपः), श्रवणानि श्रवाः, शुचयः श्रवा यस्य स शुचिश्रवाः,[127] सत्त्वमबाधितमस्येति सत्वतः, सत्वत एव सात्वतः[128] (स्वार्थिकोऽण्), हरति ऋतुषु भागमिति वा, प्राणिन इति वा,[129] हरिर्हरिर्वर्णो वाऽस्येति हरिः[130] हर्षाद् हृषीकेशः, हृष्यत्यनेनेति वृत्तिसुखं[131] स्वरूपानन्दः, ईशनवान् अतो हृषीकेशः, हृषीकाणीन्द्रियाणि तेषामीश इति वा हृषीकेशः।[132]

यथा भगवतो विष्णोस्तथैव भगवतः शिवस्यापि नैकेषां नाम्नां निर्वचनं महाभारते उपलभ्यते। त्रीण्यम्बकानि नेत्राण्यस्येति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्य सुप्रथितं निर्वचनम्। महाभारते पुनः किञ्चिदन्यदेवोक्तम्। तत्र हि तिस्रो देवीर्भजत[133] इति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्यार्थः कृतः। तेन तत्र नेत्रार्थाम्बकशब्दस्थानेऽम्बिकाशब्द एव तदभ्युपगत इति सूचितं भवति। ततश्च तिस्रोऽम्बिका अस्येति त्र्यम्बक इति व्याख्यानमस्य शब्दस्य (इकारलोपोऽत्र परिकल्प्यः)। एवमेव धूम्रश्चासौ जटी धूर्जटिरिति[134] धूर्जटिशब्दस्य निर्वचनम् (मकारलोपः), पशून् पातीति पशुपतिः[135] पशूनां सखेति पशुसखः,[136] महयन्ति लोका यं स महः, महश्चासावीश्वरश्चेति महेश्वरः,[137] निर्दहति,[138] मांसशोणितमज्जाद इति वार्थे दहतेरत्तेर्वा रुद्रः।[139]

'उ मा' इति पार्वत्या निषेधवचनोच्चारणेन[140] उमाशब्दनिर्वचनं प्रदर्शितं महाभारत-कारेण। एवमेव कार्तिकेयनामनिर्वचनं कृत्तिकानामपत्यमिति[141] कृत्वा तेन प्रादर्शि। तस्यैव कार्त्तिकेयस्यापरे नामनी स्कन्दश्च गुहश्च। तत्र स्कन्दः स्कन्दतेः,[142] शिवतेजः स्कन्दात्, गुहायाश्च गुह[143] इति तयोर्महाभारतकारकृते निर्वचने।

एवं महाभारते यत्र तत्र निर्दिष्टानि निर्वचनानि महाभारतकारस्य शास्त्रान्तर-वन्निर्वचनशास्त्रेऽपि प्रौढिं परमां पिशुनयन्ति। **निघण्टोर्निक्तस्य तत्कर्तुर्यास्कस्य चापि स्पष्टतो नामोल्लेखो महाभारतेऽस्ति।**[144] यास्कीयां पद्धतिमाश्रित्य स्वोपज्ञानि नानानिर्वचनानि प्रस्तुतानि महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन। तेभ्यः शब्दस्वरूपविषये ऋषेर्दर्शनमाविर्भवति गूढं च तद्रहस्यमुद्भिनत्तीत्येव समासेनोपन्यस्योपसंह्रियतेऽस्माभिरयं महाभारतीयनिर्वचनविचारः।।

## सन्दर्भग्रन्थसूचिः

1. हरिवंशः, 66.22
2. आदिपर्व, 68.38
3. आश्वमेधिकपर्व, 13.45.
4. हरिवंशः, 5.25.
5. वनपर्व, 13.62.
6. तदेव, 211.13.
7. आदिपर्व, 57.5.

महाभारते यत्र तत्र दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति तद्देवदृष्ट्यौचित्यदिशा च निरुक्तानि महाभारतकारेण। तत्र प्रथमं तावद्विष्णुनामान्युपक्रम्यन्ते। तन्नामनिर्वचनमेकैकश उद्योगपर्वणि हरिवंशे च विशेषतो निरूपितम्। तथा हि न च्यवते इत्यच्युतः।[90] न जायत इत्यजः,[91] अधो न क्षीयते जातु इत्यधोक्षजः,[92] उत्तरपदावयवलोपः, अथवा अध इति पृथिवी, अक्षू व्याप्तौ इत्यतोऽक् आकाशः, ते उभे अधोक्, पृथिवीनभसी स जयति सङ्गेन धारयतीति अधोक्षजः, *अधोक्*+*स*+ज:, नकारलोपे अधोक्षजः, अथवा पृथक्पदैरेवास्य निर्वचनम्,[93] तथाहि अतन्ति सततं गच्छन्त्यस्मिन्निति अः, अत सातत्य गमन इत्यतः, तकारलोपः, धोक्षः दुह प्रपूरण इत्यस्मादौणादिकः सः, गुणभष्भावौ, जायतेऽस्मात् सर्वमिति जः, अ+धोक्ष+जः अधोक्षजः, जगल्लयस्थितिजन्मस्थानमित्यर्थः, इन्द्रस्योपरि स्थापित इत्युपेन्द्रः,[94] अत्र रिलोपः, उपरि+इन्द्र, उप+इन्द्र उपेन्द्रः, भूवाचकः = सत्तावाचकः शब्दः कृषिः, कृषि+णः कृष्णः,[95] इकारलोपः, कृषति भूमिमिति वा कृष्णवर्ण इति वा कृष्णः,[96] केशिनं वाति हिनस्तीति केशवः,[97] केशि+वः (मत्वर्थीयस्येनेर्लोपः), केशाः अंशवः सन्त्यस्येति वा केशवः[98] (मत्वर्थीयो वः), कः ब्रह्मा, ईशः शिवः स्तोऽस्य, तदङ्गसम्भूतत्वादिति वा केशवः,[99] परशुखण्डनात् खण्डपरशुः,[100] गा गोपायति पातीति गोपः,[101] गा विन्दतीति गोविन्दः,[102] गवामिन्द्र इति वा गोविन्दः[103], (अत्र वकारागमो रकारलोपश्च), गां वाणीं वेद इ[...] गोविन्दः[104] जनं दस्युजनमर्दयतीति जनार्दनः,[105] जयतीति जिष्णुः,[106] त्रीणि क[...] उच्चप्रदेशाः सन्त्यस्येति त्रिककुद्,[107] उत् उत्कर्षेण प्रकाशत इत्युदरः, दमोऽस्[...] दामः, दामश्चासावुदर[...] दामोदरः,[108] नराणामयनो नारायणः,[109] नारा अ[...] यस्येति वा [...]रीकमिव पुण्डरीकं हृदयकमलं धाम तत्र [...] क्षीय[...], स चासावुत्तमश्चेति पुरु[...] [...] पुरुषश्चासावुत्तमश्चे[...] [...]ति नाशयती[...] [...]मयत्वान्[...] [...]नि [...] वृत्ति [...] [...]ाच्च [...] धवः [...] [...]वः,[117] [...]स्ते आ[...] [...]वृणोतीति [...]त्यस्मि[...] [...]सुः, देवो [...] अ[...] [...]ः (बृहत्त्वाद् [...][121] [...]षभो केदः तदेव [...] कपिः = श्रेष्ठः, [...]वाची, व्योमचारित्व- [...] एतेषां समाहारो विकुण्ठम् [...][124] अथवा विगता कुण्ठा



पञ्चानां भूतानां मेलने सामर्थ्यमस्येति विकुण्ठः, स एव वैकुण्ठः[125] (स्वार्थे तद्धितः), शिपिना = निष्कलेन रूपेण आविष्टं यत्किञ्चिदनेनेति शिपिविष्टः[126] (आकारलोपः), श्रवणानि श्रवाः, शुचयः श्रवा यस्य स शुचिश्रवाः,[127] सत्त्वमबाधितमस्येति सत्वतः, सत्वत एव सात्वतः[128] (स्वार्थिकोऽण्), हरति ऋतुषु भागमिति वा, प्राणिन इति वा,[129] हरिर्हरिर्वर्णो वाऽस्येति हरिः[130] हर्षाद् हृषीकेशः, हृष्यत्यनेनेति वृत्तिसुख[131] स्वरूपानन्दः, ईशनवान् अतो हृषीकेशः, हृषीकाणीन्द्रियाणि तेषामीश इति वा हृषीकेशः।[132]

यथा भगवतो विष्णोस्तथैव भगवतः शिवस्यापि नैकेषां नाम्नां निर्वचनं महाभारते उपलभ्यते। त्रीण्यम्बकानि नेत्राण्यस्येति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्य सुप्रथितं निर्वचनम्। महाभारते पुनः किञ्चिदन्यदेवोक्तम्। तत्र हि तिस्रो देवीर्भजत[133] इति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्यार्थः कृतः। तेन तत्र नेत्रार्थाम्बकशब्दस्थानेऽम्बिकाशब्द एव तदभ्युपगत इति सूचितं भवति। ततश्च तिस्रोऽम्बिका अस्येति त्र्यम्बक इति व्याख्यानमस्य शब्दस्य (इकारलोपोऽत्र परिकल्प्यः)। एवमेव धूम्रश्चासौ जटी धूर्जटिरिति[134] धूर्जटिशब्दस्य निर्वचनम् (मकारलोपः), पशून् पातीति पशुपतिः[135] पशूनां सखेति पशुसखः,[136] महयन्ति लोका यं स महः, महश्चासावीश्वरश्चेति महेश्वरः,[137] निर्दहति,[138] पांसुशोणितमज्जाद इति तार्थे दहतेरन्तेर्वा रुदः।[139]

टिप्पणी – उद्धरणानि पुण्यपत्तनात् प्रका-
शितात् आलोचनात्मक संस्करणात् दत्तानि।

[...] शब्दस्वरूपविषय नानानिर्वचनानि प्रस्तुतानि महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन। तेभ्यः शब्दस्वरूपविषय ऋषेर्दर्शनमाविर्भवति गूढं च तद्रहस्यमुद्भिनत्तीत्येव समासेनोपन्यस्योपसंह्रियतेऽस्माभिरयं महाभारतीयनिर्वचनविचारः॥

## सन्दर्भग्रन्थसूचिः

1. हरिवंशः, 66.22
2. आदिपर्व, 68.38
3. आश्वमेधिकपर्व, 13.45.
4. हरिवंशः, 5.25.
5. वनपर्व, 13.62.
6. तदेव, 211.13.
7. आदिपर्व, 57.5.

8. कर्णपर्व, 41.50.
9. शान्तिपर्व, 11.15.
10. तदेव, 110.11.
11. तदेव, 11.131.
12. तदेव, 53.36.
13. तदेव, 51.12.
14. हरिवंश, 5.29.
15. तदेव, 8.41
16. कर्णपर्व, 29.23
17. तदेव, 29.14
18. श्रयणाच्छरीरं भवति, शान्तिपर्व, 224, 43
19. उद्योगपर्व, 131.33
20. तदेव, 131.35
21. निरुक्त धत्ते धारयते चेदमेतस्मात्कारणाद्धनम्, उद्योगपर्व, 112.2.
22. यस्माद्धिरण्मयं सर्वं हिरण्यं तेन चोच्यते, उद्योगपर्व, 12.1.
23. अनित्यं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते, अनुशासनपर्व, 100.180
24. शान्तिपर्व, 291.34.
25. तदेव, 194.24
26. वनपर्व, 54.38.
27. तदेव, 26.34.
28. उद्योगपर्व, 34.26.
29. तदेव, 38.23
30. शान्तिपर्व, 59.128.
31. हरिवंशः, 6.40.
32. तदेव, 6.36.
33. शान्तिपर्व, 49.64.
34. हरिवंशः, 6.9.
35. तदेव, 10.52.
36. उद्योगपर्व, 43.36.
37. वनपर्व, 297.29.
38. हरिवंशः, 9.26.
39. तदेव, 9.46.
40. वनपर्व, 130.15.
41. उद्योगपर्व, 107.14.
42. शल्यपर्व, 36.2.
43. कर्णपर्व, 30.44.

8. कर्णपर्व, 41.50.
9. शान्तिपर्व, 11.15.
10. तदेव, 110.11.
11. तदेव, 11.131.
12. तदेव, 53.36.
13. तदेव, 51.12.
14. हरिवंश, 5.29.
15. तदेव, 8.41
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22. यस्माद्धिरण्मयं सर्वं हिरण्यं तेन चोच्यते, उद्योगपर्व, 12.1.
23. अनित्यं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते, अनुशासनपर्व, 100.180
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25. तदेव, 194.24
26. वनपर्व, 54.38.
27. तदेव, 26.34.
28. उद्योगपर्व, 34.26.
29. तदेव, 38.23
30. शान्तिपर्व, 59.128.
31. हरिवंशः, 6.40.
32. तदेव, 6.36.
33. शान्तिपर्व, 49.64.
34. हरिवंशः, 6.9.
35. तदेव, 10.52.
36. उद्योगपर्व, 43.36.
37. वनपर्व, 297.29.
38. हरिवंशः, 9.26.
39. तदेव, 9.46.
40. वनपर्व, 130.15.
41. उद्योगपर्व, 107.14.
42. शल्यपर्व, 36.2.
43. कर्णपर्व, 30.44.

44. हरिवंशः, 5.18.
45. तदेव, 9.38.
46. तदेव, 35.50
47. तदेव, 10.18.
48. शान्तिपर्व, 15.8.
49. हरिवंशः, 5.47.
50. शान्तिपर्व, 29.130.
51. तदेव, 29.77.
52. उद्योगपर्व, 114.17.
53. हरिवंशः, 9.39.
54. तदेव, 9.42.
55. उद्योगपर्व, 134.7.
56. आदिपर्व, 38.7.
57. हरिवंशः, 28.31.
58. विराटपर्व, 4.44.13.
59. आदिपर्व, 143.34.
60. वनपर्व, 259.40.
61. द्रोणपर्व, 16.37.
62. तदेव, 16.38.
63. आदिपर्व, 3.29.
64. अनुशासनपर्व, 95.29.
65. हरिवंशः, 8.4.
66. अनुशासनपर्व, 95.33.
67. हरिवंशः, 9.95–100.
68. अनुशासनपर्व, 95.37.
69. तदेव, 95.31.
70. तदेव, 95.15.
71. तदेव, 95.25.
72. तदेव, 95.15.
73. तदेव, 95.17.
74. तदेव, 95.35.
75. आदिपर्व, 57.73.
76. तदेव, 57.71.
77. हरिवंशः, 12.16.
78. उद्योगपर्व, 106.10.
79. तदेव, 68.15.

44. हरिवंशः, 5.18.
45. तदेव, 9.38.
46. तदेव, 35.50
47. तदेव, 10.18.
48. शान्तिपर्व, 15.8.
49. हरिवंशः, 5.47.
50. शान्तिपर्व, 29.130.
51. तदेव, 29.77.
52. उद्योगपर्व, 114.17.
53. हरिवंशः, 9.39.
54. तदेव, 9.42.
उद्योगपर्व 134.7.

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79. तदेव 93.102
80. तदेव 93.104
81 तदेव 93.106
82 तदेव 95.39
83. हरिवंशः, 18.4
84 तदेव, 8.38
85. तदेव 3.107-19
86. वनपर्व 211.1
87. तदेव .
88. हरिवंशः 1.25

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80. तदेव, 38.8.
81. तदेव, 38.10.
82. शान्तिपर्व, 330.19.
83. हरिवंशः, 67.58.
84. शान्तिपर्व, 328.43.
85. तदेव, 330.49.
86. वनपर्व, 211.1.
87. तदेव
88. हरिवंशः, 1.25.
89. उद्योगपर्व, 106.10.
90. तदेव, 68.15.
91. तदेव, 68.8.
92. तदेव, 68.10.
93. शान्तिपर्व, 330.19.
94. हरिवंशः, 62.44.
95. उद्योगपर्व, 68.5.
96. शान्तिपर्व, 328.43.
97. तदेव, 330.41.
98. हरिवंश, 88.48.
99. तदेव, 30.7.
100. हरिवंशः 88.48.
101. तदेव, 30.7.
102. उद्योगपर्व, 68.13.
103. तदेव
104. तदेव, 68.6.
105. हरिवंशः, 88.50.
106. उद्योगपर्व, 68.13.
107. शान्तिपर्व, 330.28.
108. उद्योगपर्व, 68.8.
109. तदेव, 68.10.
110. हरिवंशः, 1.24; 88.44.
111. उद्योगपर्व, 68.6.
112. तदेव, 68.6.
113. तदेव, 68.10.
114. तदेव, 68.4.
115. हरिवंशः, 88.49.

116. उद्योगपर्व, 68.7.
117. हरिवंश,, 88.49.
118. तदेव, 88.52
119. तदेव, 88.52
120. उद्योगपर्व, 68.3.
121. तदेव, 68.13, हरिवंशः 88.43. (अत्र व्याप्तिरिति धातोरर्थस्याप्युल्लेखः धातोर्व्याप्तित्व दर्शनात्)।
122. उद्योगपर्व, 68.7.
123. शान्तिपर्व, 330.24.
124. शान्तिपर्व, 330.15.
125. तदेव, 330.6.
126. तदेव, 330.36.
127. तदेव, 330.13., उद्योगपर्व, 68.7.
128. तदेव, 330. हरिवंशः, 88.
129. तदेव, 330.3.
130. उद्योगपर्व, 68.1.
131. अनुशासनपर्व, 88.47. (चित्रशालामुद्रणालयसंस्करणम्).
132. द्रोणपर्व, 173.86.
133. अनुशासनपर्व, 146.12.
134. द्रोणपर्व, 17.342; अनुशासनपर्व, 143.14.
135. अनुशासनपर्व, 95.43.
136. द्रोणपर्व, 173.83; अनुशासनपर्व, 146.15.
137. द्रोणपर्व, 173.83
138. तदेव
139. अनुशासनपर्व, 13.17,18.
140. हरिवंशः, 3.36.
141. अनुशासनपर्व, 84.77,86.14
142. तदेव
143. नैघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वृषमुत्तमम्।। यास्को मामृषिमव्यग्रो नैकयज्ञेषु गीतवान्। शान्तिपर्व (चित्रशालाप्रेससंस्करण, पूना) 342.88.72
144. नैघण्टुकपदाख्यान विद्धि मां वृषमुक्तमम्। यास्को मामृषिमव्यग्रो नैकयज्ञेषु गीतवान्। शान्तिपर्व, (चित्रशालाप्रेससंस्करण, पूना) 342.88.72

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## समासविचारः

*समासस्तु चतुर्धेति प्रायोवादस्तथापरः।*
*योऽयं पूर्वपदार्थादिप्राधान्यविषयः स च।।*

प्राचीनैः समासः चतुर्धाऽङ्गीकृतोऽव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुष-द्वन्द्व-बहुव्रीहिरूपः। तत्र नव्या दोषमुद्भावयन्ति। ते ह्येतन्मतं सम्यगिति नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। तेषां मते भूतपूर्वः, दृन्भू, आयतस्तूः, वागर्थाविव इत्यादीनां चतुर्विधसमासेषु अन्तर्भावाभावात् असङ्ग्रहापत्तिः। एवमेव पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभाव इत्यव्ययीभावस्य लक्षणम्, उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इति द्वन्द्वस्य लक्षणम्, अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिरिति बहुव्रीहिलक्षणमपि प्राचीनोक्तं तैर्न युक्तमित्यभ्युपेयते। उन्मत्तगङ्गमित्यादौ अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायामित्यनेन अव्ययीभावे समासे पूर्वपदार्थप्राधान्याभावादव्ययीभावस्य लक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेनाव्याप्तिः। बहुव्रीहिलक्षणाक्रान्तत्वेनातिव्याप्तिश्च। एवं सुप्रतीत्यत्र सुप्रतिना मात्रार्थे इत्यनेनाव्ययीभावे उभयपदार्थप्राधान्यात् तत्पुरुषलक्षणातिव्याप्तिः। अव्ययीभावलक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेनाव्याप्तिश्च। अर्धपिप्पलीत्यत्र अर्धं नपुंसकमित्यनेन समासे पिप्पलिसम्बन्ध्यर्थम् इति पूर्वपदार्थ-प्राधान्यादव्ययीभावलक्षणाक्रान्तत्वेनातिव्याप्तिः। तत्पुरुषलक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेनाव्याप्तिश्च। द्वित्रा इति बहुव्रीहौ उभयपदार्थप्राधान्याद् द्वन्द्वलक्षणाक्रान्तत्वेनातिव्याप्तिः, बहुव्रीहि-लक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेनाव्याप्तिश्च। *शशकुशपलाशमित्यादिद्वन्द्वे समाहारान्यपदार्थप्राधान्याद्* बहुव्रीहिलणाक्रान्तत्वेनातिव्याप्तिः। द्वन्द्वलक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेनाव्याप्तिश्च। एवं चतुर्धा समास इति मतं दोषाक्रान्तत्वान्नाङ्गीकार्यम्, षोढा समास इत्यपरं मतं च स्वीकार्यम्। स च षोढा समास इत्थं निर्दिष्टः-

*सुपां सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽथ तिङां तिङा।*
*सुबन्तेनेति च ज्ञेयः समासः षड्विधो बुधैः।।*

सुपां सुपा समासः। पदद्वयमपि सुबन्तम्। यथा राजपुरुषः। सुपां तिङा। पूर्वपदं सुबन्तम्, उत्तरपदं तिङन्तम्। यथा पर्यभूषयत्, अनुव्यचलत्। गतिमतोदात्तवता 'तिङाऽपि समास' इति वार्तिकात् समासः। सुपां नाम्ना समासः यथा कुम्भकारः। उपपदमति

ङिति समासः। 'गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः' इति सुबुत्पत्तेः प्राक् समासः। सुपां धातुना–उत्तरपदं धातुमात्रम्, न तिङन्तम्। यथा कटप्रूः आयतस्तूः। क्विब्वचिप्रच्छ्यायतस्तुकटप्रुजुश्रीणां दीर्घश्चेति वार्तिकात्समासः। तिङां तिङा समासः। यथा पिबतखादता, पचतभृज्जता। 'आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये' इति सूत्रात्समासः। तिङा सुबन्तेन समासः। पूर्वपदं तिङन्तमुत्तरपदं सुबन्तम्। यथा जहिस्तम्बः। 'जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्त्तारं चाभिदधातीति मयूरव्यंसकाद्यन्तर्गत-गणसूत्रात् समासः। अयं षड्विधोऽपि समासः सह सुपा इत्यत्र योगविभागेन भाष्ये व्युत्पादितः। तथा हि प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः। यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामित्यत्र प्रत्येकं भुजिक्रियापरिसमाप्तिः। प्रत्येकं समाससंज्ञावारणाय सदृशशब्दप्रयोजनम्। तदनन्तरं 'गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम्। अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति' इति दृष्टान्तेन समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः। लक्ष्यानुरोधात् क्वचित् प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति दृष्टान्ताश्रयणम्। यथा वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे प्रत्येकं भवतः। क्वचित् समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति दृष्टान्ताश्रयणम्, लक्ष्यानुरोधात्। समासे समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति न्यायस्यैवाश्रयणम्। एवं सिद्धे सति सह सुपेतिसूत्रे यत्सहग्रहणं करोति सूत्रकारस्तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत। सति योगाङ्गे योगविभागः करिष्यते। सह सुप् समस्यते। केन? समर्थेन। अनुव्यचलत्, अनुप्राविशत्। ततः सुपा च सह सुप्समस्यते। अयमधिकारः लक्षणं च। यस्य समासस्यान्यल्लक्षणं नास्ति तस्येदं लक्षणं भवति। अधिकारः प्रयोजनम्। देवदत्तः पचतीत्यादौ सामानाधिकरण्येन समाससंज्ञावारणम्। समासप्रकरणे जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिर्वेत्यपरः प्रश्नो विमर्शमर्हति। तत्र यदि जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरङ्गीक्रियते तर्हि राजपुरुषमानयेत्युक्ते पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति। औपगवमानयेत्युक्ते अपत्य- मात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति। जहत्स्वार्थावृत्तिस्वीकारे पुनरुभयोर्विद्यमानस्वार्थयोर्द्वयोर्द्विवचनमिति द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति। एवं सति जहत्स्वार्थाजहत्स्वार्थवृत्त्योः का नाम वृत्तिर्न्याय्यतरा स्यात्। उभये एवेति शास्त्रकृतः। प्रथमं जहत्स्वार्थवृत्तेर्न्याय्यत्वमुपपाद्यते। लोके पुरुषोऽयं राजकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति। यथा तक्षा राजकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं तक्षकर्म जहाति। एवं राजा पुरुषार्थे वर्तमानः स्वमर्थं जह्यात्। एवमुपगुश्च अपत्यार्थे वर्तमानः स्वमर्थं जह्यात्। राजपुरुषमानयेत्युक्ते पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं तु न। एवमौ- पगवमानयेत्युक्ते अपत्यमात्रस्य च नानयनम्। जहदप्यसौ स्वार्थं नात्यन्ताय जहाति। यः परार्थविरोधि स्वार्थः तं जहाति। यथा तक्षा राजकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्व तक्षकर्म जाहति न तु हिक्कितादीनि, एवं परार्थविरोधि विशेषणं नाम तत्र हास्यति। अथवान्वयाद्विशेषणं भविष्यति। यथा घृतघटः, तैलघटः। अथवा समर्थाधिकारोऽयं वृत्तौ क्रियते। सामर्थ्यं नाम भेदः संसर्गो वा। अन्यमते भेदसंसर्गो वा सामर्थ्यम्। यथा राज्ञ इत्युक्ते सर्वं स्वं प्रसक्तम्, पुरुष इत्युक्ते स्वामी प्रसक्तः। इहेदानीं राजपुरुषमानयेत्युक्ते राजा पुरुषं निवर्तयति स्वामिभ्यः। पुरुषोऽपि राजानमन्येभ्यः स्वेभ्यः। एवमेतास्मन्नुभयतो व्यवच्छिन्ने यदि राजा स्वार्थं

जहाति कामं जहातु नाम। न कदाचिज्जहत्स्वार्थायां वृत्तौ पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं भविष्यति। विशेषणाविशिष्टस्यैवानयनात्। अथवा अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरेवास्तु। लोके दृश्यते भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहति सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते। न जहति पदानि स्वार्थं यस्यां साऽजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः। अस्यामुभयोर्विद्यमानस्वार्थयोर्द्वयोर्द्विवचनमिति राजपुरुष इत्यत्र द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति। तत्र न प्रथमाया द्विवचनं नात्र प्रथमासमर्थो राजा। नापि षष्ठ्या द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति। नात्र षष्ठीसमर्थः पुरुषः। एवन्तर्हि अभिहितः सोऽर्थोऽन्तर्भूतः प्रातिपदिकार्थः सम्पन्न इति सम्बन्धस्याप्यत्र प्रातिपदिकार्थत्वेन प्रथमायाः द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति। नैषः दोषः। राजपुरुषशब्दात् सङ्घातात् विभक्त्योत्पत्तव्यम्। तेन च सङ्घातेन अवयवार्थोपकृत एकत्वसङ्ख्यायुक्तो विशिष्टोऽर्थः प्रतिपाद्यते इति तदाश्रयमेकवचनं प्रवर्तते। न तु गुणभूतावयवसङ्ख्याश्रयं द्विवचनम्। अथवा परस्परव्यपेक्षा सामर्थ्यम्। एकार्थीभाववादिनोऽपि राजपुरुषपदयोः परस्परं विना बोधाजनकत्वमूलाकाङ्क्षासमये एव तद्बलात्सम्बन्धांशे विशिष्टशक्तिकल्पनम्। व्यपेक्षावादिनस्तु आकाङ्क्षावशादेव तद्भानम्, न तु विशिष्टोपस्थापकशक्तिकल्पना। का पुनः शब्दयोर्व्यपेक्षा? स्वं स्वमर्थं प्रति गुणभावात् शब्दयोः परस्परव्यपेक्षा न सम्भवति। सत्यम्। प्रमातृगतां व्यपेक्षामर्थे समारोप्य शब्दाः संस्क्रियन्ते। न शब्दयोर्व्यपेक्षा। यथा राज्ञः पुरुष इत्युक्ते राजा पुरुषमपेक्षते, दानादिक्रियानिमित्तं राज्ञः स्वाम्यमुपजायते, ममायमिति। पुरुषोऽपि राजानमपेक्षते अहमस्येति। पुरुषस्य प्रतिग्रहादिनिमित्तः स्वत्वोत्पादः तयोरभिसम्बन्धस्य षष्ठी वाचिका भवति। पुरुषस्य प्रतिग्रहादिनिमित्तः स्वत्वोत्पादः तयोरभिसम्बन्धस्य षष्ठी वाचिका भवति। यथा कष्टं श्रित इति क्रियाकारकयोरभि- सम्बन्धस्य द्वितीया बाधिका भवति। नन्वेवमपि समर्थः पदविधिरिति एकमेव सूत्रम्। एकस्मात् सूत्रात् एकार्थीभावः सामर्थ्यम्, व्यपेक्षा सामर्थ्यमिति उभयोर्लाभः कथम्? समोऽयमर्थशब्देन सह समासः। सङ्घोपसर्गः। उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेवमात्मका भवन्ति यत्र कश्चित् क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते येन समः सामर्थ्यं स्यात्। तत्र प्रयोगादेतदवगन्तव्यं नूनमत्र कश्चित्प्रयोगार्हः शब्दो न प्रयुज्यते येन समः सामर्थ्यं स्यात्। यथा धूमं दृष्ट्वा अग्निरत्रेति गम्यते, त्रिविष्टब्धकं च दृष्ट्वा परिव्राजक इति च गम्यते, सूत्रेऽपि कश्चन प्रयोगार्हः शब्दो न प्रयुज्यते। उच्यते सङ्गतार्थं समर्थम्, संसृष्टार्थं समर्थम्, सम्प्रेक्षितार्थं समर्थम्, सम्बद्धार्थं समर्थम्। यदा एकार्थीभावः सामर्थ्यमर्थात् जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः तदा एवं विग्रहः करिष्यते सङ्गतार्थः समर्थः, संसृष्टार्थः समर्थः। तद्यथा सङ्गतं घृतम्, सङ्गतं तैलमित्युक्ते एकीभूतमिति गम्यते। संसृष्टार्थः समर्थः इति विग्रहेऽपि। यथा संसृष्टोऽग्निरित्युच्यते, एकीभूत इति गम्यते। यदा व्यपेक्षा सामर्थ्यं तदा एवं विग्रहः करिष्यते सम्प्रेक्षितार्थः समर्थः सम्बद्धार्थः समर्थः। अत्र व्यतिषङ्गः सम्बद्धार्थः। यो रज्ज्वां वा कीले वा व्यतिषक्तो भवति, अर्थात् रज्ज्वादिनिमित्तः संश्लेषो व्यतिषङ्गः। तात्पर्यमिदं यद् बध्नातिर्व्यतिषङ्गे एव न वर्तते, किन्तर्हि अहानावपि। तद्यथा सम्बद्धाविमौ

दम्यौ इत्युच्येते यौ अन्योऽन्यं न जिहीतः। अथवा एवंजातीयकेषु बध्नातिर्वर्तते। यथा अस्ति नो गर्गैः सम्बन्धः, अस्ति नो वत्सैः सम्बन्धः इति भाष्ये जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिश्चोक्ता। तत्र अजहत्स्वार्थायां वृत्तौ पूर्वपदार्थप्रधान इत्यादिलक्षणं निर्दुष्टं, तथापि अजहत्स्वार्थायां वृत्तौ वाक्यवत्सङ्ख्याविशेषोपसर्जनविशेषणादीनां प्रसङ्गात् तदभावो वचनेन प्रतिपाद्यः। वावचनं च कर्तव्यम्, समानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य अनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। शब्दस्य स्वाभाविकं रूपं कदाचिन्नित्यदर्शनाश्रयेण अनुगम्यते। कदाचिद् अबुधबोधनार्थं कार्यदर्शनाश्रयेण। कार्यपक्षे बहवो वार्ताधर्मा वचनेन प्रतिपाद्याः। तार्किकैः अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः समासे स्वीक्रियते। तन्मतेऽतिगौरवं भवति। वाक्यपदीयेऽपि वृत्तिवाक्यवैधर्म्ये—

*निर्धारणादिविषये व्यपेक्षैव यतः स्थिता।*
*समासप्रतिषेधानां ततो नास्ति प्रयोजनम् ॥*

इत्युक्तम्। व्यपेक्षालक्षणसामर्थ्यं वाक्ये नियतं निर्धारणविषये। अत एव गवां कृष्णा सम्पन्नक्षीरतमा इति निर्धारणं न प्रतीयते। निर्धारणाहेतोः बाह्यस्य अपेक्षणीयस्य भावात् असामर्थ्यात् न समासः। एवं पूरणगुणेत्यादिप्रतिषेधोऽपि न कर्तव्यः। इत्याशयेनाह—

*विधिभिः प्रतिषेधैश्च भेदाभेदनिदर्शनम्।*
*कृद्द्वन्द्वैकवद्भावे सङ्ख्यवृत्त्युपदेशवत् ॥*

समासविधिना भेदः संसर्ग एकार्थीभावः स्वभावसिद्धो ज्ञाप्यते। प्रतिषेधेन अभेदोऽसंसर्गो व्यपेक्षालक्षणो मन्दमतीन् प्रति ज्ञाप्यते। यथा द्वन्द्वस्य प्राणितूर्याङ्गादौ स्वाभाविकी सङ्घे समाहारे तिरोहितावयवभेदे वृत्तिः। प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् इति एकवद्भावशास्त्रेण समाहारे एवेति नियमो न अन्वाख्यायते। दधिपयःप्रभृतीनान्तु स्वाभाविकी प्रोद्भूतावयवभेदा इतरेतरयोगे वृत्तिः प्रतिषेधेन ज्ञाप्यते। विभाषा वृक्षमृगेत्यादिना वृक्षमृगादीनामुभयत्र शास्त्रमनुवादकम्। नहि असती शब्दानां शक्तिर्वचनशतेनापि कर्तुं पार्यते। 'न वा समाहारैकत्वात्' इत्यादिना भाष्ये एकवद्भावस्य प्रत्याख्यानं कृतम्। एवं वृत्तिविग्रहयोः समर्थः पदविधिरित्यत्र सामान्येन यत्सामर्थ्यं निर्दिष्टं तदेव व्यपेक्षैकार्थीभावलक्षणभेदेन शब्दशक्त्यनुसारिभिः विभक्तम्। तदुक्तम्—

*सामर्थ्यमविशेषोक्तमपि लोकव्यवस्थया।*
*वृत्त्यवृत्त्योः प्रयोगज्ञैर्विभक्तं प्रतिपत्तृभिः ॥*

अयमाशयः — समर्थपदेन सामर्थ्यवाचिना सङ्गतार्थत्वं वृत्तिवाक्यगतमविशिष्टमुक्तम्। लक्ष्ययोर्लक्ष्यमूलत्वात्स्मृतेः सूत्रकाराशयमनुसृत्य वृत्तावेकार्थीभावो वाक्ये व्यपेक्षेति विभागः कृतः। एवं परिभाषापक्षे सत्त्वादिविधावपि व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यसम्भवादस्यैव व्यापारः। सामर्थ्यभेदस्य नियतत्वात्, वावचनानर्थक्यं च स्वभावसिद्धत्वादित्युक्तं भाष्ये। वाक्ये एकार्थीभावाभावकृताः संख्याविशेषादयः प्रतीयन्ते समासेन। तदुक्तम्—

*अर्थस्य विनिवृत्तत्वाल्लुगादि न विरुध्यते।*
*एकार्थीभाव एवातः समासाख्यो विधीयते।।*

यत्र गमकं तत्रैव विशेषणयोगः एकार्थीभावेऽपि। इत्याशयेनाह—

*सम्बन्धिशब्दः सापेक्षो नित्यं सर्वः प्रयुज्यते।*
*स्वार्थवत्सा व्यपेक्षाऽस्य वृत्तावपि न हीयते।।*

यथा देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलमित्यत्र देवदत्तस्य गुरोः कुलम्, इति वाक्याद्यदर्थ-प्रतीतिर्भवति तदर्थप्रतीतिः समासादपि इति गमकत्वादत्र समासः। ऋद्धस्य राजपुरुष इति न प्रयोगः। ऋद्धस्य राज्ञः पुरुष इति वाक्येन यदर्थप्रतीतिर्न तदर्थप्रतीतिर्ऋद्धस्य राजपुरुष इत्यनेन इत्यगमकत्वान्नात्र समासः। वस्तुतस्तु प्रक्रियायां वाक्योपमर्देन वृत्तेरन्वाव्यानात् कथमत्यन्तभेद इत्याशयेनोक्तं भर्तृहरिणा—

*अबुधान् प्रत्युपायांश्च विचित्राः प्रतिपत्तये।*
*शब्दान्तरत्वादत्यन्तं भेदो वाक्यसमासयोः ।।*

राजपुरुषादयो विशिष्टार्थवृत्तयः संघाताः परमार्थतो निरंशाः। एवं परिकल्पित-पूर्वोत्तरावयवप्रविभागेन व्युत्पाद्यन्ते इति मन्दमतयः अतिसारूप्याद् उपायोपेययोरैक्यम-ध्यवस्यन्ति। भावतस्तु यथा गवयेन सत्यगवयप्रतिपत्तौ अन्य एव रेखागवयः अन्यश्च सत्यगवयः इतरथा धूलिप्रक्षेपमात्रमेवं प्रक्रियावाक्यमन्यदेव समासात्। प्रयोगसमवायि किल वाक्यमनेनोपायेन प्रदर्श्यते। तच्च व्यपेक्षैकनियतमेकार्थीभावविषयात्समासादन्यदेव। एवं वाक्ये दृष्टानां युक्तादीनां गोरथादिषु लोपाख्यानं शास्त्रैः न कृतम्। तदुक्तम्—

*असमासे समासे च गोरथादिष्वदर्शनात् ।*
*युक्तादीनां न शास्त्रेण निवृत्त्याऽनुगमः कृतः ।।*

असमासे वाक्ये समासे च दृष्टप्रयोगाः इति प्रक्रियायां तदभेदेन वृत्त्यनुशासने विभक्तीनां प्रसङ्गाद् वृत्तं यदाचार्योऽर्थाभावात् स्वाभाविकीं निवृत्तिं प्रत्ययलक्षणां प्रार्थयमानोऽन्वाचक्षीत। गोरथो दधिघट इत्यादौ युक्तादयः प्रक्रियावाक्यगता न दृश्यन्ते। नापि तल्लोकलभ्यम्। अपि च गवां रथो गोरथ इति द्रव्याणां क्रियां विनाऽसामर्थ्यात् समासाभावे चोदिते सिद्धन्तु समानाधिकरणाधिकारे तृतीयापूर्वपदोत्तरपदलोपं च षष्ठीसमासश्च युक्तपूरणान्त इत्युक्ते दध्नोपसिक्तो दध्युपसिक्त ओदनो दध्योदनः, दध्नः पूर्णो दधिपूर्णो घटो दधिघटः, गोभिर्युक्तो गोयुक्तः, गोयुक्तो रथो गोरथः इत्येवं समासे उत्तरपदलोपस्य वचने च चोदिते न वा समासो दर्शनाद्युक्तार्थसम्प्रत्ययात् तदर्थाध्यवसानम् इति प्रत्याख्यातं लोपवचनम्। अनेन एकार्थीभावकृतो विशेष उक्तः। नन्वेवमभाव इत्यत्र कथं नञ्समासः? नह्यत्र उत्तरपदार्थ-सदृशार्थसम्प्रत्ययः किन्तु तन्निषेधः प्रतीयते। भावस्य उत्तरपदार्थस्य तस्य चासतः कथं भावशब्दविषयता इत्याशयेनाह—

*अभाव इति भावस्य प्रतिषेधे विवक्षिते।*
*स्वोपाख्यत्वमनाश्रित्य प्रतिषेधो न कल्पते।।*

प्रतिषेधविषयप्रक्लृप्त्यर्थमत्रापि बुद्ध्या निरूपितमाकारान्तरमवलम्ब्य भावशब्द-प्रयोगात् तस्य श्रुतिसामान्यादसद्विषयतानवगमात् तदवगमाय नञ्प्रयोग उपपद्यते। निरुपाख्ये हि व्यामोहाद् भावतत्त्वसमारोपे तत्त्वाध्यवसायान्नञ्प्रयोगः। एवं वैतत् अथवा सर्वे इमे शब्दाः गुणसमुदाये वर्तन्ते इत्याशयेन हरिणा उक्तम्—

*अनेकधर्मवचनैः शब्दैः सङ्घाभिधायिभिः।*
*एकदेशेषु वर्तन्ते तुल्यरूपाः स्वभावतः।।*

जातिगुणक्रियालक्षणे धर्मोऽत्र गुणशब्देन भाष्ये विवक्ष्यते। तदुक्तम्—

*तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम्।*

यस्य परिपूर्णा धर्मजात्यादयः श्रुतादयश्च स मुख्यो ब्राह्मणः। तदभिधायी ब्राह्मणशब्दो रूढः। तेन तुल्यश्रुतिः अवयवे वर्तते। समुदायेषु हि वृत्ताः शब्दा अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते। यथा तैलं भुक्तम्, घृतं भुक्तम्। यद्यपि सङ्घाभिधायी एकदेशाश्रयो ब्राह्मणशब्दप्रयोग इति तस्यैकदेशाभिधायी च अर्थभेदात् स्वभावतोऽत्यन्तभिन्न एव शब्दः तथापि श्रुतिसाम्यादर्वाग्दर्शना भेदं नावगच्छन्ति इत्यभेदमाश्रित्य समुदायावयववृत्तित्वं कथ्यते। एवं च ब्राह्मणजातिहिते क्षत्रिये विद्याविनयलक्षणैकदेशाश्रयो ब्राह्मणशब्दप्रयोग इति तस्यैकदेशाप्रवृत्तिता श्रुतिसारूप्यादनवगता नञ्प्रयोगादवधार्यते। तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः। यो गुणहीनः स जातिमात्रेण ब्राह्मणः। इत्थं चात्र गुणसमुदायविषयत्वात् पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः सामानाधिकरण्यमुपपद्यते। अत्र हि नञा यस्यैव गुणस्य स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः सैव द्योत्यते। इत्यवशिष्टानां गुणानामर्थात् सद्भावोऽवगम्यते। पूर्वमुपचारसत्ताश्रयेणोक्तम्। इदानीं पारमार्थिकस्यैव कस्यचिद्धर्मस्य नञा निवर्तनेऽपि परिशिष्टमात्राकलापे समुदायाभ्यासेन शब्दप्रवृत्तिर्न निर्विषया इत्येतदाख्यायते। न च ब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणमात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति इति कथनासङ्गतिः। राजपुरुषादिवत् पूर्वपदार्थोपहितविशेषस्य उत्तरपदार्थस्य प्रतीतेः। इत्याशयेनाह—

*पदार्थानुपघातेन दृश्यते च विशेषणम्।*

राजपुरुष इत्यादौ राजाद्यर्थः, पुरुषाद्यर्थश्च अनुच्छेदेन, विशेषोपसंहारात् युक्तं विशेषणम्। इह तु नञर्थः उत्तरपदार्थोच्छेदकः कथं विशेषणं स्यात्। अनर्थक एवात्र नञ्। तथा ब्राह्मणमात्रस्यानयनं स्यादिति भाष्यकाराशयः। अथवा न सर्वथा उत्तरपदार्थनिवृत्तिः। इत्याशयेनाह भर्तृहरिः—*अथ जातिमतोऽर्थस्य कश्चिद्धर्मो निवर्तितः।*

गुणसमुदाये जातेः प्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वात् तद्वतः समुदायस्य प्रदेशमात्रस्य निवृत्तिर्नञा द्योत्यते। तदपरस्य तु प्रदेशस्य स्थितिरिति भवति। इति विशेषावसायः। यद्येवम्—

*अवश्यं ब्राह्मणे कश्चित् क्वचिद्धर्मो न विद्यते।*
*विशेषावचनात्तत्र नञः श्रुतिरनर्थिका।। इति।*

नहि सर्वो ब्राह्मणः परिपूर्णगुणो लभ्यते इति ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रदेशवृत्तिरेव सर्वः। पूर्णगुणेऽपि जातिमात्रसंस्पर्शेन प्रवृत्तेः। तथा च न नञ्प्रयोगेऽपि अनर्थको नञ्। किञ्च—

*अविशिष्टस्य पर्यायो नञ्विशिष्टः प्रसृज्यते।*
*अन्वाख्यानाद्धि साधुत्वमेव भूते प्रतीयते।।*

य एवार्थो ब्राह्मणशब्दस्य निवृत्तैकदेशः, स एवाब्राह्मणशब्दस्येति नञ्समासवचनेन प्रज्ञापितसाधुभावो ब्राह्मणशब्दः ब्राह्मणशब्दस्य पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति शङ्कां निराकर्तुमाह—

*पदार्थानुपघातेन यद्यप्यत्र विशेषणम्।*
*उपचारसतोऽर्थस्य साऽवस्था द्योत्यते नञा।।*

एकदेशोऽप्यत्र न मुख्यो ब्राह्मणसजातीयः बुद्ध्या तमुपचर्य तच्छब्दप्रयोगः। तथा चास्य स्वोपचरितलक्षणावस्था नञा प्रकाश्यते इति पदार्थानुपघातेनैव इदमपि विशेषणं युज्यते। भाष्ये उक्तम् निवृत्तपदार्थकः इति। तदेतत्स्पष्टीकृतं भर्तृहरिणा—

*निवृत्तेऽवयवस्तस्मिन् पदार्थे वर्तते कथम्।*
*नानिमित्तादिशब्दस्य प्रवृत्तिरुपपद्यते।।*

बुद्धिपरिगृहीताकारोऽपि शब्दः प्रवर्तमानो बाह्यगतं बीजमवलम्बत एव। तथा च दृश्यविकल्पयोरेकत्वाध्यवसायात् बाह्यमेव शब्दार्थं मन्यन्ते इति क्षत्रियादौ ब्राह्मणादेरेकदेशवाचित्वात् अवयवशब्दस्य कथमसति निमित्ते प्रवृत्तिः, येन साऽवस्था नञा द्योत्यते। इत्युच्यते—यदा स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिरिति क्षत्रियेऽपि ब्राह्मणशब्दस्त-दाऽऽराच्छब्दवदेकस्य विरुद्धेऽर्थे स्वभावतः शब्दस्य वृत्तिर्यद्यस्ति नञः श्रुतिरनर्थिका। यथा दूरान्तिकार्थवृत्तिराराच्छब्दः तथा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवृत्तिः स्वभावतो ब्राह्मणशब्दो रुढः इत्यवगमे विनाऽपि नञ्प्रयोगं प्रकरणादिवशात् क्षत्रियावगतिः ब्राह्मणशब्दाद् भविष्यतीति नञ्प्रयोगो व्यर्थः। येन नञ्समासोऽन्वाख्यायते। तदुक्तम् भाष्ये यदि स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः किं नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः करोति, अथ वाचनिकी तद् वक्तव्यम्, नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः पदार्थं निवर्तयति। एवं ह्येतद् व्याचष्टे भर्तृहरिः—

*अथ स्वभावो वचनादन्वाख्येयत्वमर्हति।*
*तद्वाच्यमप्रसिद्धत्वान्नञार्थो विनिवर्त्यते।।*

स्वभावोऽपि दुरवधारणत्वात् नञ् इत्यनेन शब्देन यदि ज्ञाप्यते तदा इदमपि वचनेन अन्वाख्येयम्, नञ्प्रयोगे पदानां प्रसिद्धोऽर्थो विनिवर्तते। अथास्यायं स्वभावः प्रयोगपारम्पर्यावसेयः तदा सर्वस्यैवं स्वविषये व्यापारे शब्दान्तरानपेक्षणात् उत्तरपदेनापि

निवृत्त्यभिधाने नञ् नापेक्षितव्यः। एतदनन्तरं कीलप्रतिकीलवत् वाचनिकी निवृत्तिः। यद्येव नञो माहात्म्यं, न जातुचित् राजानो हस्त्यश्वं बिभृयुः इति दूषणं दत्त्वा स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः सिद्धान्तिता। तत्र च नञ्निमित्ता उपलब्धिः। यथा समन्धकारे द्रव्याणां प्रदीपनिमित्तं दर्शनम् इत्याशयोनोक्तम्—

*यद्यप्युभयवृत्तित्वं प्राधान्यं तु प्रतीयते।*
*प्रस्थानं गम्यते शुद्धे तदर्थौ हि न तिष्ठतौ ॥*

गतिनिवृत्तिवचनस्तिष्ठतिः प्रसिद्धः। प्रशब्दप्रयोगं विनाऽपि उपसर्गः प्रस्थानार्थोऽपि तमर्थमवगमयितुमपर्याप्तो यथा, एवं क्षत्रियवचनोऽपि ब्राह्मणशब्दः नञमन्तरेण तदर्थनिश्चयाधायी। नहि प्रशब्दस्य प्रस्थानमर्थः। तिष्ठतेर्निरर्थकत्वप्रसङ्गात्, इत्यसौ तिष्ठत्यर्थः प्रशब्दस्तु द्योतकः। एवं नञ्शब्दोऽपि। नन्वेवं यदि क्षत्रिये मुख्यो ब्राह्मणार्थो नास्ति तदा किमर्थं सन्दिग्धार्थो ब्राह्मणशब्दः तत्र वाचकोऽभ्युपगम्यते, तस्य चायं मुख्योऽर्थो नञ्प्रयोगादवधार्यते। यदि पुनरयं निवृत्तपदार्थकः। किमर्थं ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रयुज्यते इत्युक्तं भाष्ये। तदाह हरिः—

*किमर्थमतथाभूते सति मुख्यार्थसम्भवे।*
*भेदे ब्राह्मणशब्दस्य वृत्तिरभ्युपगम्यते॥*

अत्र परिहारभाष्यम्–यथा विज्ञायेत अस्य पदार्थो निवृत्त इति। कस्य पदार्थो निवृत्त इत्यसन्देहार्थं ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रयुज्यते। तदेवं व्याख्यातं हरिणा–

*अयं पदार्थ एतस्मिन् क्षत्रियादौ न विद्यते।*
*इति तद्वचनः शब्दः प्रत्ययाय प्रयुज्यते॥*

अज्ञानात् गुरूपदेशाद्वा। क्षत्रिये ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रयुक्तः। स एवं बोध्यते नायं ब्राह्मणोऽब्राह्मणोऽयम्। क्षत्रिय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणार्थस्य तत्र निषेधो न कृतः स्यात्। इति विवक्षितोऽर्थो न प्रतीयते। तस्माद्बुद्ध्या तत्र ब्राह्मणशब्दमाश्रित्य नञो विषयप्रक्लृप्त्यै तदर्थनिवृत्तिः।

नैयायिकमीमांसकाः समासादिवृत्तौ जहत्स्वार्थावृत्तिं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। राजपुरुष इत्यादिसमासेऽवयवशक्त्यैव निर्वाहे समुदाये शक्तिस्वीकारो व्यर्थ इत तेषां मतम्। अर्थात् वाक्यफोटो नैयायिकाद्यसम्मतः। पङ्कजपदे पद्मत्वेन रूपेण पद्मोपस्थितये तत्रैव समुदाये शक्तिः न च ऋद्धस्य राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यत्र राजपदार्थे यथा ऋद्धादेरन्वयापत्तिः; शाब्दिकनये समुदायशक्तिस्वीकारे राज्ञः पदार्थैकदेशत्वान्न तत्र ऋद्धादेरन्वयः, पदार्थः पदार्थेनान्वेति न तु पदार्थैकदेशेनेति व्युत्पत्तेः। एतादृशव्युत्पत्तिस्वीकारादेव घटत्वे नित्यान्वयतात्पर्येण नित्यो घट इति न प्रयोगः, घटत्वस्य घटैकदेशत्वादिति वाच्यम्, सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न वृत्तस्य च विशेषणयोगो नेति सिद्धान्तेन विशेषणान्वयाभावात् तार्किकमतेऽपि न दोषः। किञ्च, राजपुरुष इत्यत्र राजपदस्य राजसम्बन्धिनि लक्षणा,

आकाङ्क्षावशात् राजसम्बन्ध्यभिन्नः पुरुष इति बोधः। एवञ्च राज्ञः पदार्थैकदेशत्वात् पदार्थः पदार्थेनान्वेति इति व्युत्पत्त्या राज्ञि न ऋद्धादेरन्वयः । न चैकार्थीभावविवक्षायाम् समासस्य व्यपेक्षाविवक्षायाम् वाक्यस्य च राजपुरुषः, राज्ञः पुरुष इति प्रयोगद्वयोपपत्तौ विभाषेति सूत्रं वैयाकरणमते फलितार्थकथनम्, तार्किकमते प्रयोगद्वयसिद्ध्यर्थं वचनरूपेण कर्त्तव्यं भवतीति गौरवमिति वाच्यम्, तार्किकमतेऽपि लक्षणया राजसम्बन्ध्यभिन्नः पुरुष इति बोधेच्छायाम् समासस्य, राजसम्बन्धवानिति बोधेच्छायां वाक्यस्य च प्रयोगद्वयोपपत्तौ विभाषेति सूत्रं फलितार्थकथनमिति गौरवाभावात्। तार्किकमते चित्रगुर्देवदत्त इत्यादौ स्वामित्वेनोपस्थितये समुदाये शक्तिकल्पनस्यावश्यकत्वम्। न च लक्षणया स्वामित्वेन उपस्थितिर्भविष्यतीति वाच्यम्, पङ्कजपदेऽपि लक्षणयैव पद्मोपस्थितिसम्भवात् समुदायशक्त्यसिद्ध्यापत्तेः। एवं वर्षासु रथकारोऽग्निमादधीत, रथकारस्तु मा हि स्यात्करण्यां यस्य सम्भवः इति स्मृतिसङ्केतितान्त्यजाविशेषस्य वेदाधिकारित्वाभावात् कथमग्न्याधानमित्याशङ्क्य श्रुत्यन्यथानुपपत्त्या जातिविशेषस्याधिकारित्वं प्रकल्प्य तावन्मात्रवेदाध्ययनकल्पनमयुक्तं स्यात्। तार्किकमते रथं करोतीति क्लृप्तयोगेन ब्राह्मणादिविषयतयैव श्रुत्युपपत्तेः। किञ्च भाष्येऽपि व्यपेक्षापक्ष एकार्थीभावपक्षश्चेति पक्षद्वयं निर्दिष्टम्। तत्राजहत्स्वार्थापदेन व्यपेक्षापक्ष एकार्थीभावपदेन जहत्स्वार्थापक्षः इति समर्थः पदविधिरिति सूत्रे उक्तम्। अथैतस्मिन्व्यपेक्षायां सामर्थ्ये योऽसावेकार्थी-भावकृतो विशेषः स वक्तव्य इति नैयायिकमते दूषणमप्युक्तम्। एवं धवखदिरौ, निष्कौशाम्बिः, गोरथः, घृतघटः, गुडधानाः, केशचूडः, सुवर्णालङ्कारः, द्विदशाः, सप्तपर्ण इत्यादौ इतरेतरयोग-अतिक्रान्त-युक्त-पूर्ण-मिश्र-सङ्घात-विकार-सुप्प्रत्ययलोप-वीप्साद्यर्थो वाचनिको वाच्यः इति तार्किकमतेऽतिगौरवं भवति। एवं घनश्यामः, हंसगमन इत्यादाविवार्थे समास इवशब्दलोपश्च वक्तव्य इत्यपि गौरवम्। वैयाकरणनये समुदाये शक्तिस्वीकारान्नोक्तदोषः। तदुक्तम्—

*चकारादिनिषेधोऽथ बहुव्युत्पत्तिभञ्जनम् ।*
*कर्तव्यन्ते न्यायसिद्धं त्वस्माकं तदिति स्थितिः ॥*

*समासे खलु भिन्नैव शक्तिः पङ्कजशब्दवत् ।*

*बहूनां वृत्तिधर्माणां वचनैरेव साधने।*
*स्यान्महद् गौरवं तस्मादेकार्थीभाव आश्रितः ॥*

एवम् ऊढरथ इत्यत्र रथकर्मकवहनकर्ता, उपहृतपशुरित्यत्र पशुकर्मकोपहरणोद्देश्यः, उद्धृतौदनेत्यत्र ओदनकर्मकोद्धरणावधिः, बहुपाचिकेत्यत्र बहुपाककर्त्रधिकरणमिति बोधस्तार्किकमते न स्यात्। शाब्दिकनये समुदायशक्त्यैव घटत्वविशिष्टे घटपद इव तादृशबोधसम्भवान्न गौरवम्। किञ्च प्राप्तोदको ग्राम इत्यत्रोदककर्तृकप्राप्तिकर्माभिन्नो ग्राम इति बोधो न स्यात्। शाब्दिकनये समुदायशक्त्यैव घटत्वविशिष्टे घटपद इव तादृशबोधसम्भावान्न गौरवम्। तार्किकमते प्राप्तिकर्त्रभिन्नम् उदकम् इत्येव बोधः

स्यात्। न च घनश्यामः, निष्कौशम्बिरित्यादौ निरादीनां द्योतकतया कौशाम्ब्यादिपदस्यैव कौशाम्ब्यवधिकनिष्क्रमणकर्त्राद्यर्थे लक्षणास्वीकारात् न क्रान्तादिशब्दानामुपादानं नैयायिकमतेऽपि। एवं पङ्कजपदे समुदायशक्तिस्वीकारस्यावश्यकत्वम्। अवयवशक्तिम-जानतोऽपि जनस्य समुदायाद् बोधदर्शनात्। चित्रगुरित्यादौ उक्तशब्दे एव लक्षणा। प्रत्ययानां सन्निहितपदार्थगतस्वार्थबोधकत्वव्युत्पत्तेः। प्राप्तोदक इत्यत्रापि उदकपद एव उदककर्तृकप्राप्तिकर्मणि लक्षणा। पूर्वपदं तात्पर्यग्राहकम्। प्राप्तपदस्य यौगिकत्वेन तल्लक्षणाया धातुप्रत्ययतदर्थज्ञानसाध्यतया विलम्बितत्वेन शीघ्रोपस्थितिकत्वमुत्तर-पदलक्षणायां विनिगमकम्। घटादिपदे विशिष्टे एव शक्तिः। विशिष्टस्यैवेश्वरसङ्केतित्वात्। सत्यम्। समासे समुदाये शक्त्यस्वीकारे अर्थवत्सूत्रेण समासस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा न स्यात्। अर्थवत्पदेन शक्तिमत्त्वस्यैव ग्रहणात्। न च कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेति सूत्रे समासग्रहणात्समासस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भविष्यतीति वाच्यम्, समासग्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वमर्थवत्सूत्रे भाष्ये उक्तम्। पूर्वसूत्रेण प्रातिपदिकत्वे सिद्धे सति समासग्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वं नान्यथा। सिद्धे (सति) विधिरारभ्यमाणो नियमाय भवतीति सिद्धान्तात्। न च लाक्षणिकार्थवत्त्वमादाय प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भविष्यतीति वाच्यम्, समासवाक्ये शक्त्यभावे शक्यसम्बन्धरूपलक्षणाया असम्भवात्। न च तिप्तस्झि इत्यारभ्य ङ्योःसुप् इति तिप् प्रत्याहारो भाष्यसिद्धः, तथा च अर्थवत् कृत्तद्धितेति सूत्रे द्वयेऽतिप् प्रातिपदिकमिति सूत्रं क्रियताम्, तदनन्तरं समासश्चेति। सुबन्ततिङन्ततदादिभिन्नं प्रातिपदिकमित्यर्थाद् राजन् ङस् पुरुष सु इति समुदायस्य सुबन्ततदादिभिन्नत्वेन प्रातिपदिकत्वं भविष्यति, समासग्रहणं च नियमार्थम्, तेन च राज्ञः पुरुष इति वाक्यस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा न भविष्यतीति नैयायिकमते न दोष इति वाच्यम्, धनं वनमित्यादौ प्रत्येकं वर्णेऽपि सुबन्ततदादिभिन्नत्वेन प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञावारणाय सुबन्ततिङन्ततदादिभिन्नमर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकमित्यर्थस्यावश्यकत्वेन समासेऽर्थवत्त्वाभावेन प्रातिपदिकत्वानुपपत्तेः। किञ्च चित्रगुमानय इत्यादौ गोपदार्थे नैयायिकरीत्या कर्मादेरन्वयो न स्यात्, प्रत्ययानां प्रकृत्यर्थान्वितस्यार्थबोधजनकत्वव्युत्पत्तेः। अम्विभक्तेः प्रकृतिः चित्रगुसमुदायः। तस्य न्यायनये निरर्थकत्वात्। न च प्रत्ययानां सन्निहितपदार्थगत-स्वार्थबोधकत्वमितिव्युत्पत्तिस्वीकाराच्चित्रगुमित्यादौ न दोष इति वाच्यम्, उपकुम्भं गच्छ, अर्धपिप्पलीमानय इत्यादौ कुम्भसमीपे पिप्पलिसम्बन्ध्यर्थे पूर्वपदार्थे विभक्त्यर्थान्वयेन एतादृशव्युत्पत्तेर्व्यभिचारात्। न च प्रकृतित्वाश्रयविभक्त्यर्थान्वय इति स्वीकारान्नैयायिकमते प्रकृतित्वस्य गोशब्देऽपि सत्त्वात् नोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम्, एतादृशव्युत्पत्तिस्वीकारे पङ्कजमानय, दण्डिनं पश्य, शूलिनं पूजय इत्यादौ पङ्कदण्डशूलेषु आनयनदर्शनपूजना- देरन्वयापत्तेः। पङ्कादावपि प्रकृतित्वस्य सत्त्वात्। अघटमानयेत्यादौ घटेऽपि आनयनान्वया-पत्तेश्च। न च प्रत्ययप्राग्वर्तिपदजन्योपस्थितिविशेष्यत्वं प्रकृत्यर्थत्वम् इति स्वीकारात्पङ्क-जमानयेत्यादौ पङ्कादौ नानयनान्वयापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, गामानयति कृष्णो दण्डेन इत्यत्र कृष्णे तृतीयार्थान्वयप्रसङ्गात्। कृष्णस्यापि प्रत्ययप्राग्वर्तित्वात्। न

च समासस्थले समस्यमानपदार्थगतस्वार्थबोधकत्वं समासोत्तरविभक्तेः इति स्वीकारान्नोक्त-दोष इति वाच्यम्, प्रत्ययानां प्रकृत्यर्थान्वितस्वार्थबोधकत्वमिति व्युत्पत्तित्यागापेक्षया समासे समुदाये शक्तिस्वीकारस्यैवावश्यकत्वात्। किञ्च, समासे समुदाये शक्त्यस्वीकारे तण्डुलः पचतीत्यादौ तण्डुलस्य कर्मत्वादिसंसर्गेण पाकादावन्वयतात्पर्येण तण्डुलः पचतीति प्रयोगस्य प्रामाण्यापत्तिः। तद्वारणाय प्रातिपदिकार्थप्रकारकबोधं प्रति विभक्तिजन्योपस्थितेः हेतुत्वमावश्यकम्। एवञ्च राजपुरुषः, चित्रगुः, नीलोत्पलम्, इत्यादौ राजपदार्थस्य पुरुषपदार्थे, चित्रपदार्थस्य गोपदार्थे, नीलपदार्थस्य उत्पलपदार्थे चान्वयो न स्यात्। उत्पलादेर्विभक्तिजन्योपस्थितित्वाभावात्। किञ्च, राजपुरुष इत्यादौ राजपदस्य राज- सम्बन्धिनि लक्षणास्वीकारे राज्ञः पुरुष इति विवरणविरोधः। समाससमानार्थकवाक्यस्यैव विग्रहत्वात्। राजपदस्य राजसम्बन्धे लक्षणास्वीकारे राजसम्बन्धरूपः पुरुष इति बोधापत्तिः। विरुद्धविभक्तिरहितप्रातिपदिकार्थयोरभेदान्वय इति सिद्धान्तात्। तस्मात्समासे समुदाये शक्तिः स्वीकार्या। अत एव वषट्कर्तुः प्रथमभक्ष इत्यत्र समासे उद्देश्यविधेयभावेन प्रतीतिर्न भवति। भक्षमुद्दिश्य प्राथम्यविधाने तु एकप्रसरताभङ्गापत्तिः। एवं त्र्यङ्गैः स्विष्टकृतं यजति इत्यत्र अङ्गमुद्दिश्य त्रित्वविधाने एकप्रसरताभङ्गापत्तिः इति। दशमाध्यायस्य तृतीये पादे मीमांसकैरुक्तम्। तथा च मीमांसकैरपि समुदाये शक्तिः स्वीकृता अत एवारुणाधिकरणारम्भः सङ्गच्छते। अरुणया एकहायन्या पिङ्गाक्ष्या सोमं क्रीणातीति वाक्येऽरुणस्य अमूर्तत्वेन गुणत्वात् क्रीणातिं प्रति करणत्वासम्भवात्कथं तृतीयेति सन्दिह्य पिङ्गाक्ष्यादिद्रव्यद्वारा क्रियान्वय इति मीमांसकसिद्धान्तासङ्गतिश्च स्यात्। अरुणपदवत् एकहायन्या पिङ्गाक्ष्या इत्यनयोरपि एकाब्दत्वादिगुणमात्रवाचकत्वेना- मूर्तत्वात् क्रीणातौ करणत्वासम्भवः। समासे समुदाये शक्तिस्वीकारे तु एकहायन्यादेः द्रव्यत्वेन तत्रान्वयसम्भव इति मीमासंकोक्तिः सङ्गच्छते। नैयायिकमतेऽपि पङ्कजपदे समुदाये शक्तिः राजपुरुष इत्यादौ न, इति अर्धजरतीयत्व-मनुचितम्। वर्षासु रथकारोऽग्निमा-दधीत इत्यत्रापूर्वविद्याध्ययनकल्पना व्यर्था। समासे प्रातिपदिकत्वानुपपत्तिश्चित्रगुरित्यादौ गोपदे लक्षणा स्वीकार्या, ऊढरथ इत्यादौ रथकर्मकवहनकर्तेत्यर्थानुपपत्तिः। तस्मात् समुदाये शक्तिः स्वीकार्या। नागेशमतेऽवय-वशक्तिसहकृतसमुदाये शक्तिः। जहत्स्वार्था तु तत्रैव यत्र रूढिर्विरोधिनी, यत्रावयवार्थः समुदायार्थविरुद्धस्तत्रैव जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः। यथा कृष्णसर्पः। अन्यत्र तु अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरेव। भाष्येऽप्युक्तम्—भिक्षुको द्वितीयां भिक्षामादाय प्रथमां न जहाति। एवञ्च, भट्टोजिदीक्षितमते यथा वृषभपदे वृषादीनां निरर्थकत्वं तथा समासेऽवयवानां निरर्थकत्वम्। कौण्डभट्टेनाऽपि अवयवानां निरर्थकत्वं स्वीकृतम्। नागोजीभट्टमते समुदायार्थावयवार्थयोर्यत्र विरोधस्तत्रैव जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिर्न सर्वत्रेति निष्कर्ष इत्योम्।

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# धात्वर्थविचारः

धात्वर्थविषये सन्ति नानादर्शनेषु नाना मतानि। नैयायिका मीमासंका वैयाकरणाश्चात्र भूयो विवदन्ते। तत्र प्रथमं नैयायिकानां तत्रापि प्राचीननैयायिकानां मतमुपस्थाप्यते। तेषां मते व्यापारमात्रं धात्वर्थः, फलं द्वितीयार्थः। तेन च ग्रामं गच्छतीतिवत् ग्रामं स्पन्दते इति न प्रयोगः। द्वितीयादेः गम्याद्युपस्थापितस्पन्दादावेव फलान्वयबोधकत्वात्। न तु स्पन्दप्रभृत्युपस्थापिते, तस्मिन् द्वितीयादिना फलान्वयबोधजननासम्भवात्। नहि येन केनचिदुपस्थापितयोरर्थयोः परस्परमन्वयः प्रतीयते। तथा सति घटकर्मत्वादि-पदोपस्थापितयोरपि घटकर्मत्वयोः घटः कर्मत्वमानयनं कृतिरित्यादौ परस्परमन्वय-बोधप्रसङ्गात्। क्रियादिसमानार्थकधातूपस्थाप्यफले विषयितार्थकद्वितीयार्थान्वयसम्भवेन घटं करोतीतिवद् घटं यतते इत्यादिप्रयोगप्रसङ्गाच्च। तथा च ययोर्यादृशान्वयबोधे आकाङ्क्षा, तदुपस्थापितयोरेव तादृशान्वयबोधः। आकाङ्क्षा च द्वितीयादेर्गम्यादिना क्रियादिना च कल्पते, न तु तत्समानार्थकेनापि स्पन्दिप्रभृतिना। अत एव ग्रामं स्पन्दत इत्यादयो न प्रयोगाः। न च व्यापारमात्रस्य धात्वर्थत्वे सर्वेषां धातूनां सकर्मकत्वाकर्मकत्व-व्यवहारापत्तिः, व्यापारवाचकत्वं सकर्मकत्वमिति स्वीकारे सर्वेषां सकर्मकतापत्तिः, व्यापारवाचकत्वमकर्मकत्वमिति स्वीकारे सर्वेषामकर्मकतापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, फलान्वित-व्यापारबोधकधातुत्वस्यैव सकर्मकत्वात्। फलानन्वितव्यापारबोधकधातुत्वस्याकर्मकत्वात्। न च धातोर्व्यापारमात्रावाचकत्वे त्यजति, गच्छति, त्यागो, गमनमित्यादिवाक्या-द्विलक्षणाबोधानुपपत्तिः। न हि शक्तिभ्रमाद्यजन्मनोः तादृशवाक्यजन्यबोधयोः कश्चिद् वैलक्षण्यमभ्युपैति। एवं च त्यागादितात्पर्येण त्यागगमनादिपदं व्युत्पन्ना अपि प्रयुञ्जीरन्। न च त्यज्धातोर्गम्धातोश्च फलविशेषावच्छिन्नव्यापारे लक्षणास्वीकारे विलक्षणबोधो-पपत्तिरिति वाच्यम्। लक्षणया विलक्षणबोधजननेऽपि शक्त्याऽविलक्षणबोधजननसम्भवेन त्यागादितात्पर्येण गच्छतीत्यपि प्रयोगापत्तेः। सत्यम्। कर्मप्रत्ययासमभिव्याहृत-त्यागगमनादिपदस्य तत्तत्फलावच्छिन्नव्यापारेऽनादितात्पर्यं कल्प्यते। न तु केवलव्यापारे। अनादितात्पर्यमेव च स्वारसिकप्रयोगनियामकम्, इति न त्यागादितात्पर्येण गमनादिप्रयोगः। एवं त्यजिगमिप्रभृतिसमभिव्याहृतकर्मप्रत्ययस्य फलविशेषे एव नियतं तादृशं तात्पर्यम्

इति न विभागादितात्पर्येण ग्रामम् गच्छतीत्यादिप्रयोगः। नव्यतार्किकमते संयोगादिरूप-फलविशेषावच्छिन्नव्यापारो गम्याद्यर्थः, तत्तद्धात्वर्थतावच्छेदकफलशालित्वमेव तद्धातुकर्मत्वम् इति प्रयोगात् काशीं गच्छतीत्यादौ न प्रयागस्य कर्मत्वम् विभागस्य गम्धात्वर्थतावच्छेदकत्वाभावात्। एवं स्पन्दः न सकर्मत्वव्यवहारः। तत्र फलस्य धात्वर्थतानवच्छेदकत्वात्। एवञ्च धातुत एव फलविशेषलाभात् 'अनन्यलभ्यो हि शब्दार्थ' इति नयेन वृत्तिरेव द्वितीयार्थः। न च 'कर्मणि द्वितीया' इति पणिनीयसूत्रविरोधः, नव्यतार्किकमते द्वितीयार्थस्य वृत्तित्वादिति वाच्यम्, कर्मणि फलनिष्ठाधेयत्वान्वयिनि प्रकृतितात्पर्ये तदुत्तरं द्वितीयेति कर्मणि द्वितीयेति सूत्रस्यार्थः। न च फलावच्छिन्नव्यापारे धातोः शक्तिस्वीकारे फलस्य पदार्थैकदेशत्वेन तत्र द्वितीयार्थवृत्तेः कथमन्वयः, 'पदार्थः पदार्थेनान्वेति न तु पदार्थैकदेशेन' इति सिद्धान्तादिति वाच्यम्, द्वितीयार्थवृत्तित्वनिष्ठ-प्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन शाब्दबोधं प्रति धातुजन्यफलोपस्थितिः कारणम् इति व्युत्पत्तिवैचित्र्येण प्रकृतेरेकदेशान्वयस्वीकारात्। न चैवं स्पन्दप्रतियोगिकभेदस्य व्यापारेऽन्वयाबाधेऽपि फलेऽन्वयतात्पर्येण गमनं न स्पन्दः इति प्रयोगापत्तिः, तद्वारणाय फलविशेष्यकान्वयबोधं प्रति फलविशेष्यकवृत्तिज्ञानजन्यफलोपस्थितेर्हेतुत्वेन धात्वर्थता-वच्छेदकफले कथं द्वितीयार्थवृत्तित्वान्वय इति वाच्यम्, संयोगविशेष्यकगम्धातु-निष्ठवृत्तिज्ञानजन्यसंयोगविशेष्यकोपस्थित्यव्यवहितोत्तरजायमानसंयोगविशेष्यकस्पन्द-प्रतियोगिकभेदप्रकारकशाब्दबोधं प्रति विशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन गम्धातुनिष्ठवृत्तिज्ञानाधीनसंयोग-विशेष्यकोपस्थितिः कारणम् इति कार्यकारणभावस्वीकारात् गमनं न स्पन्द इत्यादयो न प्रयोगाः। न च समानविषयकानुमितिं प्रति शब्दसामग्र्याः प्रतिबन्धकत्वम्, नव्यतार्किकमते ग्रामं गच्छतीत्यादिवाक्यज्ञानघटितशाब्दसामग्र्याः समानविषयकानुमितिं प्रति फलप्रकारतानिरूपितव्यापारविशेष्यताशालित्वेन, अथवा व्यापारविशेष्यतानिरूपित-फलप्रकारताशालित्वेन प्रतिबन्धकत्वकल्पने गौरवम्। प्राचीनतार्किकमते समानविषय-कानुमितिं प्रति द्वितीयाजन्यफलोपस्थितेः प्रतिबन्धकत्वे लाघवं भवति। न च प्राचीनमते फलरूपद्वितीयार्थत्वे 'भूमिं गच्छति न महीरुहम्' इत्यादौ जनकत्वसम्बन्धावच्छिन्न-प्रतियोगिताकमहीरुहनिष्ठसंयोगाभावविशिष्टव्यापारानुकूलकृतिमान् देवदत्त इति बोधो न स्यात्। जनकत्वसम्बन्धस्य वृत्त्यनियामकतया तत्सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताऽभावा-प्रसिद्धेः। नव्यमते आश्रयत्वसम्बन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकमहीरुहनिरूपितवृत्तित्वा-भावविशिष्टसंयोगानुकूलव्यापारनुकूलकृतिमान् देवदत्त इति बोधस्वीकारे न दोषः। न च भूमिकर्मकगमनकर्त्रादौ महीरुहकर्मकगमनकर्तृत्वाभावः प्रतीयते इति वाच्यम्, कर्तृवाचकपदासमभिव्याहारस्थले तादृशबोधासम्भवात्। न च तत्रापि आख्यातार्थान्वय-बोधानुरोधेन कर्तृवाचकपदाध्याहारस्य आवश्यकतया अध्याहृतपदोपस्थाप्यकर्तर्येव तादृशाभावो नञा बोध इष्यते इति वाच्यम्, आख्यातार्थविशेष्यकस्यापि अन्वयबोधस्य सम्भवेनाध्याहारस्यानावश्यकत्वात्। भूमेर्गमनं न महीरुहस्य इत्यत्र आख्यातवाचक-पदाभावात् भूमिनिष्ठसंयोगजनकः जनकत्वसम्बन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकमहीरु-

हनिष्ठसंयोगाभावविशिष्टव्यापारानुकूलकृतिमान् इति बोधे जनकत्वसम्बन्धस्य वृत्त्यनियामकतया तत्सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावाप्रसिद्धिः। नहि तत्र आश्रयता-सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितागमनाभावः प्रतीयते इति वक्तुं शक्यम्। अनुयोग्यनुपस्थितेः नञोऽनुयोगिविनिर्मोकेनाभावबोधकताया अव्युत्पन्नत्वात्। एवञ्च प्राचीनतार्किकमते व्यापारमात्रं धात्वर्थः, फलं द्वितीयार्थः, कृतिस्तिङर्थः। नव्यतार्किकमते फलव्यापारौ धात्वर्थौ, कृतिस्तिङर्थः, धात्वर्थव्यापारस्तिङर्थे विशेषणम्। तिङर्थस्तु प्रथमान्तार्थे। तथा च देवदत्तः पचतीतिवाक्यात् विक्लित्त्यनुकूलव्यापारानुकूलकृतिमान् देवदत्त इति प्रथमान्तार्थमुख्यविशेष्यको बोध इति नैयायिकमतम्। तत्र वैयाकरणा दोषमुद्भावयन्ति। तेषां दृष्ट्या नेदं मतं समीचीनं भावप्रधानमाख्यातं सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि इति निरुक्तात्। तिङन्ते व्यापारविशेष्यकबोधस्यैवौचित्यात्। अत एव युवादिसूत्रे पचति भवतीत्यत्र क्रियाविशेष्यकबोधो भाष्ये दर्शितः। तथाहि का तर्हीयं वाचोयुक्तिः पचति, भवति, त्वं पचसि, भवसि, पक्ष्यति, भवतीति, सैषा वाचोयुक्तिः, पचादिक्रिया भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्ति। पचाद्यर्थः क्रियाकर्तृकं भवनमिति क्रियाविशेष्यको बोधः। किञ्च कृतेस्तिङर्थत्वे देवदत्तः पचतीत्यादौ तिङा कर्तुरनभिधानात् तृतीयापत्तिः। न च अनभिहिते इत्यस्य अनभिहितसङ्ख्याके इत्यर्थात् न दोष इति वाच्यम्, देवदत्तः पक्तेत्यादौ कृता सङ्ख्याया अनभिहितत्वेन तत्र तृतीयापत्तिः। किञ्च, आख्यातार्थप्राधान्ये तस्य देवदत्तादिभिः सकर्मभेदान्वयात् प्रथमान्तस्य प्राधान्ये पश्य मृगो धावतीत्यत्र भाष्यसिद्धैकवाक्यत्वानुपपत्तिः। धावनानुकूलकृतिमान् मृगः; दर्शनाश्रयस्त्वम् इति नैयायिकमते बाधात्। तथा च एकमुख्यविशेष्यकबोधजनकस्वरूपैकवाक्यत्वाभावात् भाष्यविरोधो दुर्वारः। न च धावनानुकूलकृतिमन्मृगकर्मकदर्शनाश्रयत्वमिति बोधस्वीकारान्नेह भाष्यविरोध इति वाच्यम्, मृगस्य दृशिक्रियां प्रति कर्मत्वापत्तौ द्वितीयापत्तिः। अप्रथमासामानाधिकरण्ये शत्रादिविधानेन च धावन्तं मृगं पश्येति प्रयोगापत्तिः। न च धावनक्रियाविशिष्टमृगस्य कर्मत्वेऽपि केवलमृगशब्दस्य कर्मत्वाभावात् न द्वितीयापत्तिः। अत एव 'श्रुत्वा ममैतन्माहात्म्यं तथा चोत्पत्तयः शुभाः' इत्यत्र उत्पत्तिविशिष्टशुभस्य अकर्मत्वेऽपि केवलस्य कर्मत्वाभावात् न द्वितीया इति सप्तशतीश्लोकः सङ्गच्छते। एवं 'जानामि सीता जनकप्रसूता' इत्यत्र ज्ञाधात्वर्थं प्रति जनकप्रसूतविशिष्टसीतायाः कर्मत्वेऽपि केवलसीतायाः कर्मत्वाभावान्न द्वितीया। सत्यम्। नीलगुणविशिष्टघटादेः कर्मत्वविवक्षायां नीलं घटमानयेत्यादौ द्वितीयानापत्तेः। इष्टापत्तिस्तु कर्तुमशक्या। अनभिहिते इति सूत्रस्थभाष्यविरोधात्। तथा हि 'अभिधानं च प्रायेण तिङ्कृतद्धितसमासैः' इति परिगणनाभावे भीष्मगुणविशिष्टस्य कर्मत्वविवक्षायां कटशब्दादुत्पन्नद्वितीयया कर्मत्वस्य उक्त्या भीष्मशब्दात् द्वितीया न स्यात्। अतः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् इत्युक्तं भाष्ये। नैयायिकरीत्या विशिष्टस्य कर्मत्वे प्रत्येकं कर्मत्वाभावे भीष्मं कटं कुरु इति भाष्यासङ्गतिः। तस्मात् विशिष्टः प्रत्येकं च कर्म। तथा च मृगकर्मकदर्शनाश्रयत्वम् इति बोधे द्वितीयापत्तिर्दुर्वारा। न च 'श्रुत्वा ममैतन्माहात्म्यं

तथा चोत्पत्तयः शुभाः' इति सप्तशतीश्लोकासङ्गतिरिति वाच्यम्, तस्य आर्षत्वेनादोषात्। न च पश्येत्यत्र तमिति कर्माध्याहार्यम्, मृगो धावति तं पश्य, एवमपि वाक्यभेदापत्तिः। किञ्च उत्कटधावनक्रियाविशेषस्यैव दर्शनकर्मतयान्वयस्य प्रतिपिपादयिषितत्वात् तंशब्दाध्याहारेऽनन्वयापत्तिः। एवञ्च भावनाप्रकारकबोधे प्रथमान्तपदजन्योपस्थितिः कारणमिति नैयायिकोक्तं न युक्तम्। किन्तु आख्यातार्थकर्तृप्रकारकबोध प्रति धातुजन्यभावनोपस्थितिर्हेतुरिति कार्यकारणभावो मन्तव्यः। पचति भवतीत्याद्यर्थं भावनाप्रकारकबोधं प्रति धातुजन्यभावनोपस्थितिरपि हेतुः। किञ्च, नैयायिकमते आख्यातार्थसङ्ख्यायाः प्रथमान्तार्थ एवान्वयात् आख्यातार्थसङ्ख्याप्रकारकबोधं प्रति प्रथमान्तपदजन्योपस्थितिर्हेतुरिति कार्यकारणभावः तेन स्वीकर्तव्यः। एवञ्च चन्द्र इव मुखं दृश्यते, देवदत्तो भुक्त्वा व्रजतीत्यादौ चन्द्रे क्त्वार्थे च आख्यातार्थसङ्ख्यान्वयापत्तिः तयोरपि प्रथमान्तपदत्वात्। तद्वारणाय आख्यातार्थसङ्ख्याप्रकारबोधं प्रति इतराविशेषणत्व-घटितप्रथमान्तपदजन्योपस्थितिः कारणमिति कार्यकारणभावस्वीकारे गौरवम्। मीमांसकमते फलमात्रं धात्वर्थः। व्यापारो हि तिङर्थः। 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः प्रत्ययार्थस्य प्राधान्यम्' इति व्युत्पत्तिबलात् व्यापारविशेष्यको बोधः। कर्तरि कृदिति सूत्रात् लः कर्मणीति सूत्रे चकारात् कर्तरीत्यनुकृष्यते। सूत्रे कर्तृकर्मपदे कर्तृत्वकर्मत्वपरे। एवञ्च प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारीभूतो भावप्रत्ययार्थ इति सिद्धान्तात् कर्तृत्वं व्यापारः कर्मत्वं च फलम्। फलव्यापारे च लकारा भवन्ति इति लः कर्मणीति सूत्रस्यार्थः। तथा च सूत्रमपि न विरुद्धम्। एतन्मते कर्त्ता आक्षेपलभ्य इति मीमांसकमतम्। तन्न युक्तम्। 'व्यापारो भावना सैवोत्पादना सैव च क्रिया। कृञोऽकर्मकतापत्तेर्नहि यत्नोऽर्थ इष्यते' इत्युक्तेः। पचति पाकमुत्पादयति, पाकानुकूला भावना, तादृशी उत्पादना इति विवरणदर्शनाद् विव्रियमाणस्य धातोरेव व्यापारवाचकत्वम्। किञ्च, भावनाया धात्वर्थाभिभावे घटं भावयतीत्यत्रेव घटो भवतीत्यत्र घटपदाद् द्वितीयापत्तिः। उत्पत्तिरूपफलाश्रयत्वेन कर्मत्वात्। न च कर्तृसंज्ञया कर्मसंज्ञाया बाधान्न द्वितीयेति वाच्यम्, कृत्याश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वम्, कारकचक्रप्रयोक्तृत्वं च कर्तृत्वम् इति कर्तृत्वलक्षणस्वीकारेऽचेतने तद्बाधेन घटादौ कर्तृत्वाभावात्। धात्वर्थानुकूलव्यापाराश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वमिति स्वीकारे सर्वस्यापि कारकस्य धात्वर्थानुकूलयत्किञ्चित्क्रियाश्रयत्वात् सर्वेषां कारकाणां कर्तृत्वापत्तिः। तेन क्रियाजनकत्वस्यैव कारकत्वात्। किञ्च, व्यापारस्य धात्ववाच्यत्वे सकर्मकत्वाकर्मकत्व-व्यवहारानुपपत्तिः। तथा हि धात्वर्थफलव्यधिकरणव्यापारवाचकत्वं धात्वर्थ-व्यापारव्यधिकरणफलवाचकत्वं वाऽकर्मकत्वमिति सकर्मकत्वानुपपत्तिः। फलमात्रस्य धात्वर्थत्वात्। तथा धात्वर्थफलसमानाधिकरणव्यापारवाचकत्वं, धात्वर्थव्यापार-समानाधिकरणफलवाचकत्वं वाऽकर्मकत्वमिति व्यवहारोच्छेदापत्तिः, धातोर्व्यापार-वाचित्वाभावात्। न च पच्यादिधातून् शृङ्गग्राहिकयोपादाय तावद्भिन्नभिन्नत्वं सकर्मकत्वमिति स्वीकारान्न दोष इति वाच्यम्, जिधातोरभिभवार्थे अकर्मकत्वस्य न्यूनीकरणार्थे सकर्मकत्वस्य अभ्युपगमात् सकर्मकधातुलक्षणे तत्प्रदेशेऽकर्मके

तस्मिन्नतिव्याप्तिः। अप्रवेशे च न्यूनीकरणेऽर्थेऽव्याप्तिः। किञ्च व्यापारस्य धात्वर्थत्वाभावे फलमात्रं धात्वर्थः स्यात्। तथा च करोतीत्यादौ यत्नप्रतीतेस्तन्मात्रं वाच्यम्। एवं च यती प्रयत्ने इतिवत् फलस्थानीययत्नवाचकत्वाविशेषात् अकर्मतापत्तिः। न च मीमांसकमते, 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः प्रत्ययार्थस्यैव प्राधान्यमि'तिन्यायबलात् 'तदागमे हि दृश्यते' इति न्यायानुरोधाच्च तिङ्वाच्यैव भावना न धातोः। स्वयुक्ताख्यातार्थव्यापारव्यधिकरण-फलवाचकत्वं सकर्मकत्वं धातुयुक्ताख्यातार्थव्यापारसमानाधिकारणफलवाचकत्वम-कर्मकत्वम्। आख्यातार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वं च कर्तृत्वम् इति न पूर्वोक्तापत्तिः, इति मीमांसकं प्रत्युच्यते—

*तस्मात् करोतिर्धातोः स्यात् व्याख्यानं न त्वसौ तिङाम्।*
*पक्ववान् कृतवान् पाकं किं कृतं पक्वमित्यपि ॥*

अयमाशयः। फलमात्रस्य धात्वर्थत्वस्वीकारे ग्रामः संयोगवान् इतिवत् ग्रामो गमनवान् इति प्रयोगापत्तिः संयोगाश्रयत्वात्। फलानुत्पाददशायां व्यापारस्य विद्यमानत्वेऽपि पाको भवतीति प्रयोगानुपपत्तिः। मीमांसकमते कालस्य फल एवान्वयात्। तदानीं फलस्यासत्त्वात्। व्यापारविगमे फलसत्त्वे पाको विद्यते इत्यापत्तिश्च। विक्लित्तेर्वर्तमानत्वात्। न च भावप्रत्ययस्य घञादेरनुकूलव्यापारवाचकत्वस्वीकारान्न दोष इति वाच्यम्। कर्त्राख्यातवत् कर्तरि कृदित्यत एव तद्विधानलाभे भाव इति सूत्रवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः। न च पचतीत्यस्य पाकं करोतीति विवरणदर्शनात् व्यापारो धात्वर्थ इति वाच्यम्, करोतिर्धातोरेव व्याख्यानम्, न तिङाम्। किञ्च, व्यापारस्य तिङर्थत्वे पक्ववान् इत्यादावन्वयानुपपत्तिः। तथा हि प्रकृत्यर्थप्रकारबोधं प्रति तदुत्तरप्रत्ययजन्योपस्थितिर्हेतुरिति कार्यकारणभावमूलकः 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सहार्थं ब्रूतः तयोः प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधान'मिति न्यायः। अयं न्यायः तिङन्तातिरिक्तस्थले प्रवर्तते। न तु तिङन्ते। भावप्रधानमाख्यातमिति यास्कवचनानुरोधात्। तिङन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिस्वीकारे भाष्यादिविरोधापत्तिः। किञ्च, पक्ववानित्यत्र पाकः कर्मकारकं, क्तवतुप्रत्ययार्थः कर्तृकारकं, कारकाणां क्रियायामेवान्वयः। अर्थात् कारकस्य क्रियाजनकत्वरूपत्वेन क्रियाजनकमिति ज्ञाते का सा क्रियेति आकाङ्क्षोदयेन क्रियाया अपि साध्यरूपायाः साधकाकाङ्क्षायाश्च परस्परान्वयौचित्येन क्रियात्वमेव हि कारकान्वयितावच्छेदकमिति सिद्धान्तात् पक्ववान् इत्यत्र क्रियाया अभावेन प्रत्ययार्थस्य कर्तुः प्रकृत्यर्थेऽन्वयाभावात् 'प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयो'रितिन्यायो व्यभिचरितः। किञ्च 'प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्यस्य यः प्रधानं स प्रत्ययार्थः यः प्रत्ययार्थः स प्रधानमेवेति नार्थः अजा, अश्वा, छागीत्यत्र प्रत्ययार्थस्त्रीत्वस्यैव प्राधान्यापत्तेः। छाग्यादेरनापत्तेश्च। एतेनेदमर्थादापतति यद् न्यायोऽयमौत्सर्गिको बोधो हि व्युत्पत्त्यनुसाराद् भवति। अत एव भावनाप्रकारकबोधं प्रति विशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन प्रथमान्तपदजन्योपस्थितिः कारणमिति व्युत्पत्तिबलात् प्रथमान्तविशेष्यको बोधः। लक्षणायां कचतस्त्रस्यति वदनमित्यादौ सम्बन्धितावच्छेदक-राहुत्वादिनैव बोधस्य त्रासाधायकस्योपपत्तिः। कचतादिशक्यतावच्छेदकरूपेण

लक्ष्यार्थबोधाङ्गीकारे तदनुपपत्तिः। घटः कर्मत्वमानयनं कृतिरित्यादौ विपर्ययेणापि व्युत्पन्नानां नैयायिकनव्यादीनां बोधः, न तु तद्व्युत्पत्तिरहितानाम्। निराकाङ्क्षत्वान्न ततो बोधः। बोधस्य व्युत्पत्त्यनुसारित्वादेव प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्। प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमिति वचनं न कार्यम्। अर्थस्य अर्थावबोधस्य अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् व्युत्पत्त्यनुसारित्वात्। किञ्च किङ् कृतमिति प्रश्ने पक्वमित्युत्तरम्। पक्वमित्यत्र भावनायाः प्रतीतिदर्शनात् कस्य भावना वाच्या? धातोर्निष्ठाप्रत्ययस्य वा? धातोर्भावनावाच्यत्वे तु मीमांसकमतासङ्गतिः। निष्ठाप्रत्ययस्य भावनाजन्यत्वे गौरवं भवति। किञ्च, भावनायाः प्रत्ययार्थत्वात्कृदन्तस्थलेऽपि व्यापारविशेष्यकबोधापत्तिः। अथोक्तं कौण्डभट्टेन किङ्कार्यं पचनीयं चेत्यादि दृष्टं हि कृत्स्वपि, किञ्च, क्रियावाचकतां विना धातुत्वमेव न। कार्यमित्यत्र ऋहलोर्ण्यत् इत्यनेन कर्मणि ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति। पचनीयमित्यादौ कर्मणि चानीयर्। आदिना ज्योतिष्टोमयाजीत्यादौ करणे उपपदे कर्तरि णिनिः। मीमांसकमते आख्याताभावेन क्रियाया अभावात् विना क्रियां कारकत्वासम्भवेन कारकवाचकप्रत्ययानुपपत्तिः। न च गम्यमानक्रियामादाय कारकयोगान्न दोष इति वाच्यम्, तिङन्तेऽपि गम्यमानक्रियामादायैव कर्तृकर्मार्थकप्रत्ययोपपत्तौ तिङ्संज्ञकाख्याते भावनाया वाच्यत्वासिद्ध्यापत्तेः। न च कृदन्तस्थले लिङ्गसंख्यान्वयानुरोधात् कृतः कर्तुर्वाच्यत्वमावश्यकम्। कृदर्थकर्त्रा भावनाया आक्षेपात् तस्या अवाच्यत्वेऽपि प्रतीतिर्भविष्यति इति वाच्यम्, आख्यातेऽपि सङ्ख्यान्वयोपपत्तये कर्त्ता वाच्यः स्यात्। तेन व्यापारस्याक्षेपात्तिङन्तस्थलेऽपि आक्षेपादेव व्यापारस्य प्रतीतिसम्भवे तिङ्वाच्या भावनेति सिद्धान्तासङ्गतिः। पक्ववान् इत्यादौ कालकारकान्वयानुरोधाद् भावनाया अपि वाच्यत्वस्यावश्यकत्वाच्च। 'क्रियाभेदाय कालस्तु संख्या सर्वस्य भेदिका' इति वाक्यपदीयवचनात् कालकारकयोः क्रियायामेवान्वयः। किञ्च, पुरुषो राज्ञो, भार्या देवदत्तस्य, राजसम्बन्धी पुरुषः, देवदत्तसम्बन्धिनी भार्या इत्यन्वयविवक्षायां राज्ञो भार्या इत्यनयोः पदयोरसामर्थ्याद्यथा न समासस्तथा नखैर्भिन्नः नखभिन्नः, हरिणा त्रातो हरित्रात इत्यादौ 'कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम्' इत्यनेन समासो न स्यात्। असामर्थ्यात् कारकाणां क्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यमिति सिद्धान्तः। न च दध्योदन इत्यत्र दध्ना निःसृत ओदनः गुडधाना इत्यत्र गुडेन मिश्रिता धाना इत्यर्थे अव्याहृतक्रियामादाय यथा दध्योदन इत्यादौ समासस्तथा नखभिन्न इत्यादौ अध्याहृतक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यमादाय समासः स्यादिति वाच्यम् तत्र अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम्, भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणमितिसूत्रस्या-रम्भसामर्थ्यात् अगत्या गम्यमानक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यमादाय समासेऽपि हरिकृतमित्यादौ साक्षाद्धात्वर्थान्वयेन उपपद्यमानस्य कर्तृकरणे इत्यस्य आक्षेपेण परम्परासम्बन्धे ऽप्रवृत्तेः। न चैकक्रियान्वयित्वमेव सामर्थ्यमिति नोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम्, असूर्यम्पश्येत्यादेः असमर्थसमासत्वानुपपत्तेः। इष्टापत्तिस्तु कर्तुमशक्या। कृतः सर्वो मृत्तिकया इत्यत्र कृतसर्वमृत्तिक इत्यापत्तेः। यथाऽसमर्थसमासः 'सह सुपे' त्यनेन भवति, तथा कृतसर्वमृत्तिक इत्यत्रापि स्यात्। किञ्च, मीमांसकमते भावयति घटमितिवद् घटं

भवतीति प्रयोगापत्तिः। धात्वर्थफलाश्रयत्वरूपकर्मत्वसम्भवात्। न चाख्यातार्थ-व्यापाराश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वं, कर्तृसञ्ज्ञयाकर्मसंज्ञया बाधनान्न द्वितीयेति वाच्यम्। पाचयति देवदत्तो विष्णुमित्रेणेत्यत्र प्रयोज्यस्य विष्णुमित्रस्याख्यातार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वाभावेनाकर्तृत्वात् तृतीयानापत्तेः। ग्रामं गमयति देवदत्तो विष्णुमित्रमित्यत्र प्रयोज्यस्य विष्णुमित्रस्य आख्यातार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वाभावेनाकर्तृतापत्तौ कर्तुरीप्सितममित्यनेन प्रकृतिकर्तृनिष्ठव्यापार-जन्यफलसम्बन्धिन एव कर्मसंज्ञाविधानेन मीमांसकमते विष्णुमित्रस्याकर्तृतया तद्व्यापारजन्यफलाश्रयस्यापि ग्रामस्याकर्मकत्वेन तद्वाचकपदोत्तरं द्वितीयानापत्तिः। विष्णुमित्रस्य करणत्वे णिचोऽसम्भवश्च। धात्वर्थव्यापारजन्यफलाश्रयस्यैव कर्मत्वाङ्गीकारे णिजन्तकर्मतैव न स्यात्, न गमिकर्मता। एवञ्च ग्रामाय गमयति देवदत्तो विष्णुमित्रम् इत्यत्र चतुर्थी न स्यात्। 'गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि' इत्यनेन गत्यर्थकर्मणि एव चतुर्थीविधानात्। किञ्च, णिजन्तस्थले प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकव्यापारद्वयमपि आख्यातार्थः, तदाश्रयत्वाद्देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोः कर्तृत्वमित्यपि न, आख्यातस्य व्यापारद्वयाभि-धायकत्वेन विष्णुमित्रस्य कर्तृत्वोपपादनेनाऽपि तत्कर्तृत्वस्य आख्यातपदाभिधानात् देवदत्तपदोत्तरमिव विष्णुमित्रपदोत्तरं तृतीयादौर्लभ्यम्। एवमाख्यातार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वस्य उभयोरपि अविशिष्टत्वात् प्रधानव्यवहारोच्छेदापत्त्या हेतुमति चेति अनुशासनविरोधश्च। न च णिजाख्यातार्थान्यतरार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वम्, मीमांसकमते फलमात्रस्य गणपठितधात्वर्थत्वेन तदनुकूलणिजर्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वेन विष्णुमित्रस्यापि कर्तृत्वं सुवचमिति वाच्यम्। आख्यातार्थव्यापाराश्रयत्वस्य केवलान्वयितयाऽव्यावर्तकत्वेन आख्यातं तद् वाक्यस्थत्वेन अवश्यं विशेषणीयम्, तस्मिन् प्रयोगे य आख्यातार्थः तदाश्रयः कर्त्ता इत्यर्थे आख्यातशून्ये देवदत्तः पक्तेति कृदन्ते देवदत्तस्याकर्तृतापत्तिः। किञ्च, भूवादयो धातव इति सूत्रे भूश्च वाश्चेति द्वन्द्वः। व्यवस्थाप्रकारवाचिनोरादिशब्दयोरेकशेषः। आदिश्च आदिश्च आदी भूवौ आदी येषाम् ते भूवादयः। भूप्रभृतयो वासदृशा धातवः। सादृश्यं च क्रियावाचकत्वेन। तथा च क्रियावाचकत्वे सति भ्वादिगणपठितत्वं धातुत्वम् इति धातुलक्षणम्। मीमांसकमते भूवादयो धातव इति सूत्रस्य वैयर्थ्यापतिः, धातोः क्रियावाचकत्वाभावात्। न च क्रियापदेन क्रियते व्यापारेण निष्पाद्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या फलस्यापि ग्रहणात् फलवाचकत्वे सति भ्वादिगणपठितत्वं धातुत्वम् इति लक्षणस्वीकारात् न सूत्रस्य मीमासंकमतेऽपि वैयर्थ्यमिति वाच्यम्,

*धात्वर्थत्वं क्रियात्वं चेद् धातुत्वं च क्रियार्थता।*
*अन्योन्यसंश्रयः स्पष्टः तस्मादस्तु यथाकरम्।*

इति कौण्डभट्टोक्तेः। यदि क्रियात्वं धात्वर्थत्वं तर्हि धातुत्वज्ञाने तदर्थत्वरूपक्रिया-त्वज्ञानमपेक्षितम्। क्रियात्वज्ञाने च क्रियात्वावच्छिन्नवाचकत्वघटितधातुत्वज्ञानमिति अन्योन्याश्रयापत्तिः। न च भ्वादिभिन्नभिन्नत्वमन्यतमत्वमिति लक्षणस्वीकारात् न भूवादय इति सूत्रस्य वैयर्थ्यम्, एतादृशलक्षणस्वीकारे भूवादय इति सूत्रस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तिः।

तस्माद् व्यापारसन्तानः क्रिया। तद्वाचकत्वे सति भ्वादिगणपठितत्वम् धातुत्वम्। न च सत्तादीन् फलांशान् अन्यतमत्वेन आदाय सत्ताद्यन्यतमवाचकत्वे गणपठितत्वं धातुत्वम्, धात्वर्थत्वाद् सत्तादीनां क्रियाशब्देन व्यवहारो भाष्यादौ कृतोऽप्युपपत्स्यत इति वाच्यम्, अन्यतममध्ये विकल्पयतीति प्रयोगानुसारात् विकल्पस्यापि प्रवेशावश्यकत्वेन तदर्थके वेत्यव्यये गणपठितत्वसत्त्वेनातिव्याप्तिः। न च अस्ति-भवति-विद्यतीनां कथं धातुत्वम्, क्रियाप्रतीत्यभावात्। अत आह—

*अस्त्यादावपि धर्म्यंशे भाव्येऽस्त्येव हि भावना।*
*अन्यत्राशेषभावात्तु सा तथा न प्रकाशते।।*

असँ भुवीत्यादौ फलांशे भावे भाव्यत्वेन विवक्षिते अस्त्येव, प्रतीयत एव। अयमाशयः—स ततो गतो न वेति प्रश्ने महता यत्नेन अस्ति इति प्रयोगे सत्तारूपफलानुकूला भावना प्रतीयत एव। उत्पत्त्यादिबोधने व्यापारस्य सुतरां प्रतीतिर्भवति। यथा-

*रोहितो लोहितादासीद् धुन्धुस्तस्य सुतोऽभवत् ।*

किञ्च भावनाया धात्ववाच्यत्वे लडादिव्यवस्था न स्यात्। भावनाया एव वर्तमानत्वादिविवक्षायां लडादिविधानात्।

*क्रियाभेदाय कालस्तु संख्या सर्वस्य भेदिका*

इति हरिवचनात्। नन्वेवम् अस्त्यादौ व्यापारस्य सत्त्वे अस्तीतिकथने व्यापारस्य स्पष्टतया प्रतीतिः कस्मान्न भवतीति, सत्यम्। भावनायाः फलसामानाधिकरण्यात् व्यापारस्य स्पष्टतया प्रतीतिर्न भवति। न च सकर्मकगम्यादिस्थलेऽपि फलसामानाधिकरण्यसत्त्वात् भावनाप्रतीतिर्न स्यात् इति चेन्न। भावनानधिकरणवृत्तिफलसामानाधिकरण्यं भावनानिष्ठं स्वरूपतो भावनाप्रतिबन्धकम्। न तु तज्ज्ञानापेक्षया। तथा च गम्यादिस्थले संयोगस्य भावनाधिकरणग्रामादिवृत्तित्वात् न तत्सामानाधिकरण्यं भावनाप्रतीतिं स्थगयति। आत्मधारणानुकूलव्यापारार्थके घटोऽस्तीत्यादौ फलव्यापारयोः सामानाधिकरण्याद् भावना स्पष्टं न प्रतीयते। न चात्माऽस्ति, दिगस्तीत्यादौ दिगात्मकर्तृकसत्तया नित्यत्वात्कथं भावनाप्रतीतिरिति वाच्यम्, स्वरूपधारणानुकूल-व्यापारस्यैव तत्रास्त्यर्थत्वात्। एवञ्च पच्यते तण्डुलः स्वयमेव इत्यादिस्थले आश्रयतारूपव्यापारस्य यथा साध्यत्वेन भानम्, तथाऽऽत्मास्तीत्यादावपि तस्या एव साध्यत्वेन भानम्। न चैवं किं करोतीति प्रश्ने पचतीत्युत्तरस्येव अस्तीत्युत्तरमपि स्यादिति वाच्यम्, इष्टापत्तेः। आसन्नविनाशं कञ्चिद् दृश्य किं करोति इति प्रश्ने पूल्बति पचतीत्युत्तरस्येव अस्तीत्युत्तरस्य सर्वसम्मतत्वात्। अन्यत्र सुस्थतया निश्चिते किं करोतीतिप्रश्ने पाकादिविशेषगोचर एवेत्यवधारणात् अस्तीति नोत्तरम्। न चैव भावनायाः फलनियतत्वात् फलाश्रयस्य च कर्मत्वाद् सर्वेषां क्रियावाचकत्वे

सकर्मकतापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, 'फलव्यापारयोरेकनिष्ठतायामकर्मकः, धातुस्तयोर्धर्मिभेदे सकर्मक उदाहृतः' इत्युक्तेः। फलव्यापारयोर्भिन्नाधिकरणवृत्तित्तवेऽकर्मकत्वम्, अत एव गम्यादौ संयोगस्य द्विष्ठत्वेन कर्तृनिष्ठत्वेऽपि नाकर्मकत्वव्यवहारः। ग्रामेऽपि संयोगस्य सत्त्वात्। फलव्यापारयोराश्रयभेदे सकर्मकः। न चैवमात्मानं जानाति, इच्छतीत्यादौ फलव्यापत्तरयोरेकाधिकरणवृत्तित्वादर्थात् ज्ञानादिरूपफलस्य तदनुकूलात्मकः संयोगरूपव्यापारस्य च एकत्र कर्तरि सत्त्वात् अकर्मकत्वापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, शरीरावच्छिन्न आत्मा एकः अन्तःकरणावच्छिन्न आत्मा चान्यः। तत्राद्यः कर्म, द्वितीयः कर्त्ता, फलतावच्छेदकविषयतासम्बन्धेन शरीरात्ममनःफलाश्रयत्वात्कर्मत्वम्। व्यापारतावच्छेदक-समवायसम्बन्धेन व्यापाराश्रयत्वात् अन्तरात्मनः कर्तृत्वम्। एवञ्च 'साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृतिः' इति वाक्यपदीयात् धातुर्भावनाविषयकबोधजनकतावान् इति सूत्रकारादिभिश्च बोधिते भावनारूपार्थे आख्यातमसाधु धातुश्च साधुरिति लब्धम्। तथा च चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीयाप्रयोगवत् धात्वर्थभावनाद्यामाख्यातप्रयोगे याज्ञे कर्मण्यसाधुशब्दप्रयोगात् नानृतं वदेदिति निषेधोल्लङ्घनप्रयुक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं मीमांसकानां स्यादेव। किञ्च, भावनायास्तिङर्थत्वे कर्तरि कृदिसूत्रादनुकृष्टस्य कर्तरिपदस्य लः कर्मणीति सूत्रे व्यापारार्थकत्वे कर्तरि कृदित्यत्रापि व्यापारार्थकत्वापत्तिः। तुल्ययोगन्यायात्। मीमांसकैः णमुलादिकृत्संज्ञक- प्रत्ययस्थले व्यापाराश्रयवाचकस्यैव स्वीकारात् लाघवात् अत्र कर्त्रादिपदं धर्मपरमेव, तदाकृत्यपि तदेव स्यात्। किञ्च, मीमांसकानां कृत्प्रत्ययस्य यथा कर्तृवाचकत्वं, कृत्प्रत्ययार्थकर्त्रा भावनाया आक्षेपाद्यथा कृदन्तस्थले भावनायाः प्रतीतिर्भवति, तथा तिङर्थः कर्त्ता स्वीक्रियताम्। तिङर्थकर्त्रा भावनाया आक्षेपादेव प्रतीतिर्भविष्यतीति तिङ्वाच्या भावना इति सिद्धान्तासङ्गतिः। न चाक्षेपस्य प्राधान्यं न भवति यथा कृदन्तस्थले भावनाया आक्षेपेऽपि भावनाविशेष्यकबोधो न भवति तथा तिङन्तेऽपि भावनाविशेष्यकबोधो न स्यात् एतदर्थं तिङ्वाच्या भावना स्वीकर्तव्या। जातिशक्तिवादे घटादिपदानां घटत्वे शक्तिः। घटमानयेत्यादौ घटत्वानयनासम्भवात् आक्षिप्तव्यक्तेरपि यथा प्राधान्यं तथा व्यापारस्याक्षेपेऽपि प्राधान्योपपत्तेः। न च पचतीत्यादौ पाकं करोतीति भावनाया विवरणदर्शनात् करोतिस्तिङामेव विवरणम्, पाकधातोः। तथा चास्माद्विवरणात् भावनायाः तिङ्वाच्यत्वम् सिध्यतीति चेन्न। पाकानुकूलव्यापारवतः कर्तुरपि विवरणविषयत्वसम्भवात्। न च पचतीत्यस्य कर्मबोधकपदाभावेऽपि पाकं करोतीत्यशब्दार्थकर्मत्वविवरणं यथा भवति, यथा वा इतरेतरयोगद्वन्द्वे घटपटौ इत्यादौ समुच्चयबोधकपदाभावेऽपि समुच्चयांशविवरणं भवति तथा कर्तुर्विवरणं तात्पर्यार्थविवरणं, भावनाया एव विवरणं, वास्तविकम् इति वाच्यम्, विवरणस्य स्वस्वव्युत्पत्त्यनुसारित्वात् नाभीष्टार्थसाधकत्वम्। न चाख्यातस्य कर्तृवाचकत्वे भावनाक्षिप्ता गुणीभूतैव प्रतीयेत, न प्राधान्येन, अन्यथाऽऽक्षेपानुपपत्तिः, उपपादकस्य उपपाद्यफलकत्वात्। रात्रिभोजनवत्। एवमपि यथा पक्ता देवदत्तः इत्यत्राभेदान्वयो भवति एवं देवदत्तः पचति इत्यत्र तिङर्थकर्तरि देवदत्तस्याभेदान्वयात् एकत्वविशिष्ट-

देवदत्ताभिन्नकर्तृकविक्लित्त्यनुकूलो वर्तमानकालिको व्यापार इति बोधो भवति। मीमांसकमते व्यापारस्य तिङर्थत्वात् अभेदान्वयो न स्यात्। एतदर्थं तिङः कर्तृवाचकत्वमावश्यकम्। अन्यथा मीमांसकमते आधाराधेययोरभेदान्वयदर्शनात् अभेदान्वयानुपपत्तिः। न च नामार्थनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन शाब्दबोध प्रति विशेष्यविशेषणवाचकपदयोः समानविभक्तिकत्वज्ञानं कारणम्, तच्च समानविभक्तिकत्वं विशेषणवाचकपदनिष्ठं। विशेष्यवाचकपदप्रकृतिकविभक्तिसजातीयविभक्तिकत्वरूपमेव, साजात्यं च विभक्तिविभाजकप्रथमात्वादिना। देवदत्तः पचतीत्यादौ समानविभक्तिकत्वाभावात् वैयाकरणनयेऽपि कथमभेदान्वयः? सत्यम्। सोमेन यजेत इत्यत्र सोमाभिन्नयागेनेष्टं भावयेत्, स्तोकं पचतीत्यादौ विक्लित्तिरूपफलस्यापि व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन फलाश्रयत्वात् कर्मत्वेन तत्र स्तोकपदार्थस्याभेदान्वयो भवति। अभेदबोधे समानविभक्तिजन्योपस्थितेः कारणत्वे तु पूर्वोक्तस्थलेषु अभेदान्वयानुपपत्तिः। समानविभक्तिजन्योपस्थितिविरहात्। तथा च देवदत्तः पचतीत्यादावर्थभेदान्वयार्थं तिङः कर्तृवाचकव्यमावश्यकम्। न च तिङर्थः व्यापार एवं व्यापाराश्रये लक्षणया अभेदान्वयो भविष्यतीति न दोष इति वाच्यम्, तिङाख्यातादियौगिकानामपि द्रव्यवाचित्वानापत्तेः। एवं वैश्वदेवी आमिक्षेत्यादितद्धितानामपि अनेकमन्यपदार्थे इत्यनुशसनेन पिङ्गे अक्षिणी यस्याः, विश्वे देवा देवता अस्या इति विग्रहदर्शनात् प्रधानषष्ठ्यर्थे एवानुशासनलाभात्। यथा च अरुणया पिङ्गाक्ष्या एकहायन्या सोमं क्रीणातीति वाक्ये द्रव्यानुक्तत्वात् क्रियाया द्रव्ये एवान्वयः इति सिद्धान्तात् आरुण्यस्य गुणत्वेन क्रियान्वयाभावात् कथं तृतीयेति सन्दिह्य पिङ्गाक्ष्यादिद्रव्यद्वारा क्रियान्वयप्रतिपादकस्वसिद्धान्तासङ्गतिः। पिङ्गे अक्षिणी यस्या इति विग्रहे प्रधानषष्ठ्यर्थे बहुवीहिः। एवमेकं हायनं यस्या इति विग्रहे बहुव्रीहिः। षष्ठ्यर्थः सम्बन्धः। तथा च पिङ्गाक्षीसम्बन्धः एकहायनसम्बन्धश्च इत्यर्थो भवति सम्बन्धस्य गुणत्वात् तत्रापि तृतीया न स्यात् इत्याशयेन पिङ्गाक्ष्यादिपदस्य तत्सम्बन्धिनि शक्तिः स्वीक्रियते। अर्थात् द्रव्यवाचकत्वम् पिङ्गाक्ष्यादिपदानां मीमांसकैः स्वीकृतम्। द्रव्यवाचकत्वसाधकमूलयुक्तेः गवादेः सामानाधिकरण्यस्य लक्षणयैवोपपत्तेः। पिङ्गाक्ष्यादिपदानां यौगिकत्वस्वीकारेऽपि न दोष इति मीमांसकसिद्धान्तासङ्गतिः। किञ्च, तिङो भावनावाचकत्वे देवदत्तः पचतीत्यादौ तिङा कर्तुरनभिधानात् तृतीयापत्तिः। न चानभिहिते इत्यस्य अनभिहितसङ्ख्याके इत्यर्थस्वीकारान्न तृतीयापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, एवमपि पक्ता देवदत्त इत्यत्र तृचा सङ्ख्याया अनभिधानात् तृतीयापत्तिः। किञ्च, गुरुः शिष्याभ्यां पाचयतीत्यत्र प्रयोजकव्यापारस्य णिजर्थत्वे प्रयोज्यव्यापार एवाख्यातार्थः। तथा चाख्यातेन प्रयोज्यव्यापारस्योक्तत्वात् शिष्याभ्यामिति द्विवचनानुपपत्तिः। गुरोरनुक्तत्वेन तृतीयापत्तिश्च। किञ्च पचति, पक्ष्यति, पक्ववान् इत्यादौ फूत्कारादिप्रतीतये तत्रानेकप्रत्ययानां शक्तिकल्पने गौरवम्। किञ्च फूत्करादेः प्रत्ययार्थत्वे गच्छतीत्यादितः फूत्कारादिप्रतीतिवारणय फूत्कारादिबोधं प्रति पचिसमभिव्याहारस्यापि कारणत्व-

कल्पनेऽतिगौरवम्। किञ्च, फूत्कारादेः प्रत्ययार्थत्वं गच्छतीत्यादितः फूत्कारादिप्रतीति-वारणाय फूत्कारादिबोधं प्रति पचिसमभिव्याहारस्यापि कारणत्वकल्पनेऽतिगौरवम्। किञ्च, फलस्य धातुना तदाश्रयस्य चाक्षेपेणैव लाभसम्भवेन लः कर्मणीत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तिः। कर्मकर्तृकृतां कारकभावनोभयवाचकत्वे गौरवाच्च।

*यावत्सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेनाभिधीयते।*
*आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात्सा क्रियेत्यभिधीयते।।*
*गुणभूतैरवयवैः समूहः क्रमजन्मनाम्।*
*बुद्ध्या प्रकल्पिताभेदः क्रियेति व्यपदिश्यते।।*

इति भूवादिसूत्रस्थभाष्यार्थप्रतिपादकहरिग्रन्थादपि धात्वर्थः क्रियैव लभ्यते। एकावयवेऽपि समूहरूपारोपात् अधिश्रयणकालेऽपि पचतीति व्यवहारः। तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*एकदेशसमूहे वा व्यापाराणां पचादयः।*
*स्वभावतः प्रवर्तन्ते तुल्यरूपं समाश्रिताः।।*

तस्मात् फलव्यापारौ धात्वर्थौ। कर्तृकर्मसङ्ख्यकालाः तिङर्थाः। अर्थात्—कर्तृप्रत्ययस्थले कर्तृसङ्ख्यकालाः, कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले च कर्मसङ्ख्यकालाः। सङ्ख्या च कर्तृप्रत्ययस्थले प्रकारतया कर्तर्यन्वेति, कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले च कर्मणि, तथा च सङ्ख्याप्रकारबोधं प्रति आख्यातजन्यकर्तृकर्मोपस्थितिर्हेतुरिति कार्यकारणभावः। कर्तृकर्मणी फलव्यापारयोर्विशेषणे, कालस्तु व्यापारे विशेषणम्। यथा वर्तमाने लट् इत्यस्य धात्वर्थे वर्तमाने लड् भवति। सङ्ख्यावत् कर्तृकर्मणोरेव न पचतीति प्रयोगानुपपत्तिः। तस्मात्कालस्य न कर्तरि, नापि कर्मण्यन्वयः, नापि फले। फलानुत्पत्तिदशायां व्यापारसत्त्वे पचतीतिप्रयोगानुपपत्तेः। पक्ष्यतीतिप्रयोगापत्तेश्च। एवञ्च देवदत्तः पचतीतिवाक्यात् एकत्वविशिष्टदेवदत्ताभिन्नकर्तृकविक्लित्त्यनुकूलो वर्तमानकालिको व्यापार इति बोधः। कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले पच्यते ओदनो देवदत्तेनेत्यादावपि व्यापारविशेष्यकः। अत एव सुप आत्मनः क्यच् इति सूत्रे भाष्ये इष्टः पुत्रः, इष्यते पुत्र इत्यर्थे क्यचमाशङ्क्य स्वशब्देनोक्तत्वान्न इति समाहितम्। इष्टशब्दसामानाधिकरण्यात् पुत्रार्थे कर्मत्वावगतावपि पुत्र इति सुबन्तं न कर्मवाचि। न ततः क्यजिति तद्भावः। स्वं कर्मत्वं तद्वाचकशब्देन पुत्रगतं कर्मत्वमुक्तम्। न तु पुत्रशब्दस्य तत्र वृत्तिः। द्वितीयं समाधानमाह—

वृत्त्यर्थावबोधकं वाक्यं विग्रहः इति वृत्तिवाक्ययोः समानार्थत्वात् इष्टः पुत्रः, इष्यते पुत्र इति वाक्ये फलं विशेष्यम्। वृत्तौ व्यापार इति समानार्थत्वाभावान्न क्यच्। अस्माद्भाष्यात् कर्तृप्रत्ययस्थले व्यापारविशेष्यको बोधः कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले च फलविशेष्यको बोधः। दीक्षितमते चोभयत्र व्यापारविशेष्यकबोधस्यैव सत्त्वेन समानार्थत्वाभावादिति भाष्यासङ्गतिः। तत्र क्रिया साध्यसाधनभेदेन द्विविधा। साध्यत्वं च क्रियान्तरा-काङ्क्षानुत्थापकतावच्छेदकं सत् कारकान्तरान्वययोग्यतावच्छेदकरूपवत्त्वम्। यथा पचतीत्यादौ धातुवाच्या क्रिया। हिरुगाद्यव्ययानां साध्यताभावेन क्रियावाचकत्वव्यवहारः

क्रियामात्रविशेषणत्वाद् भवति। सिद्धत्वं च क्रियान्तराकाङ्क्षोपस्थापकावच्छेदक-वैजात्यवत्त्वेन क्रियान्वयित्वे सति कारकान्तरान्वयायोग्यत्वम्। यथा पाक इत्यादौ घञादि वाच्यम्। साध्यत्वं तु सर्वत्र धातुप्रतिपाद्यम्। न चैवं पचति भवतीत्यादि-भाष्योक्तवाक्ये भुक्त्वा गच्छतीत्यादौ च भवति भुक्त्वेत्यादीनां क्रियान्तराकाङ्क्षादर्शनेन कारकान्तरान्वयानापत्तिः, धातुत्वानापत्तिश्च। तस्मात् साध्यत्वं निष्पाद्यत्वमेव। निष्पाद्यत्वरूपसाध्यत्वप्रकारक एव बोधः। घञादिवाच्यक्रियायाः सिद्धरूपत्वम्। धातुवाच्यक्रियायाः साध्यरूपत्वम्। अत एव सुट्कात्पूर्व इति सूत्रे भाष्ये "पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण। साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति। तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि। अनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्य उपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम्" इत्युक्तम्। अस्माद् भाष्याद् धातुवाच्यक्रियाया निष्पाद्यरूपसाध्यत्वेन भानमिति स्फुटीभवति। एवं 'कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवद्भवति' इति भाष्यात् घञादिवाच्यक्रियायाः सिद्धत्वम्। घटं करोतीत्यादौ द्रव्यस्यापि घटस्य साध्यत्वेन प्रतीतिदर्शनात् द्रव्ये साध्यत्वापत्तिस्तु न। करोतिपदादि-समभिव्याहारात्तथा प्रत्ययेऽपि स्वतो घटादिपदात् द्रव्यस्य सिद्धत्वेनैव प्रतीतेः। न च नागेशमते भावप्रधानमाख्यातमिति यास्कवचनासङ्गतिः। क्रियापदेन फलस्याग्रहणात् कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले नागेशमते फलविशेष्यकबोधस्यैव सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम्, क्रियते व्यापारेण निष्पाद्यते इति क्रिया, यौगिकव्युत्पत्त्या क्रियापदेन फलस्यापि ग्रहणात्। अत एव 'कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रिय' इति सूत्रं सङ्गच्छते। कर्मावस्थायां या क्रिया सैव कर्त्रवस्थायां चेत् तदा कर्मवद्भावो भवति। यथा देवदत्तः तण्डुलं पचतीत्यत्र कर्मावस्थायां तण्डुले विक्लित्तिर्वर्तते। तण्डुलः स्वयमेव पच्यते इति कर्त्रवस्थायामपि विक्लित्तिस्तण्डुले एव वर्तते। क्रियापदेन फलस्याग्रहणे तु अत्र कर्मवद्भावानुपपत्तिः। तथा च नागेशमते न यास्कवचनविरोधः। एवं फलव्यधिकरणव्यापारवाचकत्वं सकर्मकत्वम्, इत्यपि न समीचीनम्, किंतु कर्मसंज्ञकान्वय्यर्थकत्वमकर्मकत्वम्। अत एव अध्यासिता भूमय इत्यत्र अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्मेति कर्मत्वात् कर्मणि क्तप्रत्ययः सिध्यति। भूषणकारमते अधिपूर्वकास्धातोरकर्मकत्वात् कर्मणि क्तप्रत्ययानुपपत्तिरिति शम्।।

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## स्फोटविचारः

घट इत्युक्ते आश्रयत्वेनोपस्थिताकाशविषयकशाब्दबोधवारणाय तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नविषयकशाब्दबोधं प्रति तद्धर्मावच्छिन्ननिरूपितशक्तिज्ञानाधीनोपस्थितिः कारणम्। आकाशोपस्थितेः घटपदनिष्ठशक्तिज्ञानाधीनत्वाभावात् नाकाशविषयकशाब्दबोधः। तथा च प्रत्येकं वर्णाः शक्त्याश्रयाः समुदायो वा शक्त्याश्रयः इति पक्षविकल्पः। आद्ये द्वितीयादिवर्णोच्चारणवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः। प्रथमवर्णोच्चारणादेवार्थप्रतीतिसम्भवात्। नापि संहता वर्णाः शक्त्याश्रयाः। उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वे यौगपद्यासम्भवात्। उत्पत्तेरभिव्यक्तेर्वा क्षणास्थायित्वात्। क्षणशब्देन शब्दतन्मात्रद्वारा प्रकृतेः परिणामविशेषः कालोऽभिप्रेयते। मुख्यक्षणस्य प्रत्यक्षाबोध्यत्वेन तदवच्छिन्नवर्णस्यापि अप्रत्यक्षत्वापत्तिः। उच्चरितप्रध्वसित्वं च उच्चारणाधिकरणकालोत्तरकालवृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वम्। एवं च इकोयणचीत्यादौ अयं पूर्वः अयं परः इति प्रत्यक्षविषयो य इदंशब्दस्तद्विषयो योऽयं पूर्व इत्यादिरभिलापः तद्विषयस्य पौर्वापर्यस्य ज्ञानं न सम्भवति। नष्टस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयेदमा परामर्शायोगात्। एवं वर्णसमूहरूपपदप्रत्यक्षस्यापि एवंक्रमावगाहिन एव परः सन्निकर्ष इति सूत्रोक्तरीत्या भाष्यकृदनुभवसिद्धस्यानुपपत्तिः। न च वर्णानामनित्यत्वेऽपि उत्तरोत्तरवर्णे पूर्वपूर्ववर्णवत्त्वमव्यवहितोत्तरत्वसम्बन्धेन संस्कारवशाद् गृह्यते इति पदप्रत्यक्षत्वात् शाब्दबोधोपपत्तिः। अथवा पूर्वपूर्ववर्णजाः शब्दाः शब्दजशब्दन्यायेन चरमवर्णप्रत्यक्षपर्यन्तं जायमाना एव सन्तीति न पदप्रत्यक्षानुपपत्तिः। यद्वा पूर्वपूर्वानुभवजन्यसंस्कारसध्रीचीनचरमवर्णानुभवतः शाब्दबोधो भविष्यतीति वाच्यम्, 'यावद् गकारे वाग्वर्तते न तावदौकारे इति येनैव यत्नेन एको वर्ण उच्चार्यते तेनैव विच्छिन्ने तस्मिन् वर्णे उपसंहृत्य तं यत्नमन्यं यत्नमुपादाय द्वितीयः प्रवर्तते' इति तपरसूत्रस्थभाष्यात् पूर्ववर्णनाशोत्तरं यत्नान्तरेण वर्णान्तरोत्पत्तेः। नष्टविद्यमानयोः अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वसम्बन्धस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वाच्च। विद्यमानयोरेव सम्बन्ध इति सिद्धान्तात्। शब्दजशब्दन्यायेन पदप्रत्यक्षोपपादनेऽपि पदस्याविद्यमानत्वेन तत्र शक्त्याश्रयत्वस्य ग्रहानुपपत्तेः। अविद्यमाने वस्तुनि आश्रयत्वाङ्गीकारे नष्टो घटो जलवान् इति व्यवहारापत्तिः। तृतीये येन क्रमेणानुभवः तेनैव क्रमेण तत्संस्कारस्थितिरित्यत्र विनियामकाभावात् सरो रसो, नदी

दीन इत्यादौ विपरीतसंस्कारोद्बोधेन प्रत्येकमन्यार्थप्रत्ययापत्तेः। एवं च पदवाक्ययोरभावेन शब्दार्थसम्बन्धस्यैव हानिः। तदुक्तम्—'अशाब्दो यदि वाक्यार्थः पदार्थोऽपि तथा भवेत्।' पदसमुदायात्मकवाक्यस्य इव वर्णसमुदायरूपपदस्याप्यभावात् उभयोरपि अर्थसम्बन्धः। किञ्च, एकं पदमिति बुद्धेः तदेवेदं कृष्णपदमिति बुद्धेश्च अनुपपत्तिः। न चैकजातीयबुद्धिविषयत्वौपाधिकी एकबुद्धिविषयत्वौपाधिकी चास्याप्रतीतिरिति वाच्यम्, तज्जातीयमिदं पदम् इति व्यवहारस्याप्यापत्तेः। तदेवेदं पदम्, इति नियमेन व्यवहाराच्च। किञ्चैवमुच्चारणभेदात् भिन्नेषु शक्तिग्रहासम्भवः। व्यक्तिवाद इव आनन्त्यव्यभिचारात्। व्यभिचारश्च गृहीतशक्तिकस्यैव बोधकत्वम् इति सर्वसिद्धे नियमे बोध्यः। आनुपूर्वी तु तत्तत्कालघटितत्वेन अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वाननुगमात् प्रत्युच्चारणं भिन्नेति तस्या अपि शक्यतावच्छेदकत्वे शब्दान्तरस्य बोधकत्वानापत्तिरूपैव। तादृशाव्यवहितोत्तरत्वेन अनुगमोऽपि तादृशत्वस्य दुर्ज्ञेयत्वात् अयुक्त एव। व्यवधानाभावे सति घटज्ञानध्वंसविशिष्टज्ञानविषयत्वमेवानुपूर्वी। तत्परिच्छेदश्च मनसैवेति पक्षेऽपि ज्ञानव्यक्तिभेदेन आनुपूर्वी अनन्तैव। न च चरमवर्णज्ञानव्यङ्ग्याः तत्तत्पदवृत्तयोऽनन्ता जातयः शक्तत्वावच्छेदकत्वेन कारणातावच्छेदकत्वेन च कल्प्यन्ते इति न दोष इति वाच्यम्, अनन्तजातिकल्पने गौरवात्। पदादेरसत्त्वेन वृत्त्याश्रयत्वासम्भवाच्च। पदानामविद्यमानत्वेन तत्र जातेरप्यसम्भवाच्च। उत्पत्तिविनाशवत् वर्णसमुदायरूपपदस्य मनुष्यादिवद्भेदे 'एक इन्द्रशब्दः क्रतुशते प्रादुर्भूतो युगपत्सर्वयागेषु अङ्गं भवति' इति भाष्यविरोधापत्तेश्च। अत्रोच्यते। प्रलये नियतकालपरिपाकानां सर्वप्राणिकर्मणामुपभोगेन प्रज्ञया च लीनसर्वजगत्कामा चेतनेऽपीश्वरे लीयते। लयश्च अपुनःप्रादुर्भावफलको नाप्यात्यन्तिको नाशः। उत्तरसर्गानुपपत्तेः। नापि सर्वार्थाभानम्। प्रतिभासमात्रशरीरस्य मिथ्यावस्तुनोऽनवभासे तदभावस्यैवापत्तेः। किन्तु सुप्तेव तिष्ठति कार्यप्रवृत्त्यभावात्। ततोऽपरिपक्वप्राणिकर्मभिः कालवशात् प्राप्तपरिपाकैः स्वफलप्रदानाय भगवतोऽबुद्धिपूर्विका सृष्टिः मायापुरुषावाविर्भवतः। ततः परमेश्वरस्य सिसृक्षात्मिका मायावृत्तिर्जायते। ततो बिन्दुरूपमव्यक्तं त्रिगुणं जायते। इदमेव शक्तिमत्त्वम्। तस्य बिन्दोरचिदंशो बीजम्। चिदचिन्मिश्रोंऽशो नादः। चिदंशो बिन्दुरचिच्छब्देन शब्दार्थोभयसंस्काररूपा अविद्या उच्यते। अस्माद्बिन्दोः शब्दब्रह्मापरनामधेयं वर्णादिविशेषविरहितं ज्ञानप्रधानं सृष्ट्युपयोग्यवस्थाविशेषरूपं चेतनमिश्रं नादमात्रमुत्पाद्यते। एतत् जगदुपादानमेव खपदादिशब्दैर्व्यवह्रियते। तदुक्तम्—

*बिन्दोस्तस्माद् भिद्यमानात् खोऽव्यक्तात्मकोऽभवत्।*
*स एव श्रुतिसम्पन्नैः शब्दब्रह्मेति गीयते॥*

एतत्सर्वगतमपि प्राणिनां मूलाधारे संस्कृतपवनचलनेन अभिव्यज्यते। ज्ञातमर्थं विवक्षोः पुंस इच्छया जातेन प्रयत्नेन योगे एव मूलाधारस्थपवनसंस्कारः। तदभिव्यक्तं शब्दब्रह्म स्वप्रतिष्ठया निष्पन्नम् परा वागित्युच्यते।

तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम्।*
*विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः॥*

यत इत्यनेन नात्रारम्भवादः परिणामवादो वा विवक्षितः। किन्तु विवर्तवादः। यथा रज्जुः स्वयमविकृतैव सती मायया सर्पाकारेण विवर्तते कारणस्वरूपाविरोधेन कार्यप्रतिभासः, अतो ब्रह्मणो निर्विकारत्वात् न नित्यत्वविरोधः। तदेव नाभिपर्यन्तमागच्छता तेन वायुनाऽभिव्यक्तमनोविषयः पश्यन्तीत्युच्ते। तदुक्तं सूतसंहितायाम्—

*सोऽहं ब्रह्म न संसारी न मत्तोऽन्यत्कदाचन।*
*इति विद्यात्स्वमात्मानं स समाधिः प्रकीर्तितः॥*
*समाधिस्तु समाधानं जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः।*
*ब्रह्मण्येव स्थितिर्या सा समाधिः प्रत्यगात्मनः॥*

एतद्द्वयं सूक्ष्मतरसूक्ष्मतममीश्वराधिदैवतं योगिनां समाधौ निर्विकल्पकसविकल्पज्ञानविषयः। ततः हृदयपर्यन्तमागच्छता तेन वायुना हृदयदेशेऽभिव्यक्ततत्तदर्थविशेषतत्तच्छब्दविशेषोल्लेखिन्या बुद्ध्या विषयीकृता हिरण्यगर्भदेवत्या परश्रोत्रग्रहणायोग्यत्वेन सूक्ष्मा मध्यमा वाक्। स्वयं तु कर्णपिधाने सूक्ष्मतरवाय्वभिघातेन उपांशुशब्दप्रयोगे च श्रूयमाणा मध्यमा वाक्। एतदवस्थात्रयमपि सूक्ष्मतम-सूक्ष्मतर-सूक्ष्मप्रणवरूपम्। सैव चास्यपर्यन्तं गच्छता तेन वायुना कण्ठदेशं गत्वा मूर्धानमाहत्य परावृत्य तत्तत्स्थानेष्वभिव्यक्ता परश्रोत्रेणापि ग्रहणयोग्या विराडधिदैवत्या वैखरी वाक्। तदुक्तम्—

*परा वाङ् मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता।*
*हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशगा॥*
*वैखर्या हि कृतो नादः परश्रवणगोचरः।*
*मध्यमया कृतो नादः स्फोटव्यञ्जक उच्यते॥*

तदुक्तं वाक्यपदीयेऽपि—

*स्वरूपज्योतिरेवान्तः परा वागनपायिनी।*
*तस्यां दृष्टस्वरूपायामधिकारो निवर्तते॥*

पतञ्जलिना एषा श्रुतिरुद्धृता—

*चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि*
*तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः।*
*गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति*
*तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति॥*

हरिणाप्युक्तम्—

*वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम्।*
*अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रय्या वाचः परं पदम्॥*

तत्र परादीनां मध्ये परापश्यन्त्योर्योगिज्ञानविषयत्वात् मध्यमाया यो नादांशः तस्यैव स्फोटात्मनः शक्त्याश्रयत्वम्। स च स्फोटो यद्यप्येकोऽखण्ड एकैकवर्णेनापि अभिव्यज्यते तथापि अन्त्यवर्णाभिव्यक्तो बोधहेतुः। अत एव नैकवर्णजाभिव्यक्त्युत्तरमर्थ-प्रत्ययः। तत्र च व्यञ्जकरूपप्रतिबिम्बनात् तद्रूपरूषितैव स्फोटाभिव्यक्तिरिति एकोऽपि नानात्वमिवापद्यते। यथा जलचाञ्चल्येन इन्दुप्रतिबिम्बस्य चञ्चलत्वेन ग्रहणम्, यथा वा स्फटिकादेः जपाकुसुमाद्युपाधिवशात् तद्रूपरूषितस्य भानम्, यथा पुनर्वा मुखमणिकृपाणदर्पणाद्यभिव्यञ्जकवशाद् वर्तुलत्वादिभानं तथा स्फोटस्यापि।

तदुक्तं हरिणा–

*यथा रक्तगुणे तत्त्वं कषाये व्यपदिश्यते।*
*संयोगिसंनिकर्षात्तु वस्त्रादिष्वपि दृश्यते।।*
*यथा मणिकृपाणादौ रूपमेकमनेकधा।*
*तथैव ध्वनिषु स्फोट एक एव विभिद्यते।।*

प्रतिबिम्बसमर्पकाश्च संस्कारास्ते च स्थिरा एव। ध्वनिर्द्विविधः प्राकृतो वैकृतश्च। प्राकृतो ध्वनिः स्फोटव्यञ्जकः। प्रकृताज्जातः प्राकृतः। तदुक्तं हरिणा–

*स्फोटस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते।*
*शब्दस्योर्ध्वमभिव्यक्तेर्ध्वनिभेदे तु वैकृताः।*

एवञ्च एकोऽपि स्फोटः प्राकृतध्वनिभेदाद् भिन्नभिन्न इव प्रतिभाति। वस्तुतस्तु एक एव। न च अनेककालिकतत्तद्वैखर्याभिव्यक्तेरौपाधिकनानात्वात् उपाधिभिन्नव्यञ्जका-भावात् न वर्णराहित्येन तत्प्रत्यक्षत्वम्, येन क्रमेण च चित्ते संस्कारस्तेनैव क्रमेण व्यञ्जकरूपरूषितस्फोटस्य स्वीकारात् न सरो रस इतुयनुयोरविशेषः। तथा चाष्टविधः स्फोटः। वर्णस्फोटः, पदस्फोटः, वाक्यस्फोटः, अखण्डपदस्फोटः, अखण्डवाक्यस्फोटः, वर्णपदजातिभेदेनाष्टौ स्फोटाः। सुबन्ततिङन्तपदजन्यबोधपूर्वकवाक्यचरमवर्णाभिव्यक्त-स्फोटस्य बोधकत्वे वाक्यस्फोटः, इति व्यवहारः। प्रकृतिप्रत्ययजन्यबोधाभावे सति पदस्फोटेन बोधेऽखण्डपदस्फोटः। पदजन्यबोधाभावे सति वाक्यस्फोटेन बोधेऽखण्ड-वाक्यस्फोटः। वर्णपदवाक्यगतजातिव्यङ्ग्यस्फोटैर्बोधे क्रमशः वर्णजातिस्फोटः, पदजाति-स्फोटः वाक्यजातिस्फोटः इत्युच्यते। अत एव भाष्ये 'येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुद-खुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः' इत्यत्र येनेति एकवचनं प्रयुक्तम्। कैयटेनापि उच्चारितेनेत्यस्य प्रकाशितेनेत्यर्थः कृतः। तपरसूत्रे भाष्येऽपि 'ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते, अल्पो महांश्च केषाञ्चिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः', ऋलृक्सूत्रे भाष्येऽपि 'उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते, रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति' इत्युक्तम्। तत्र कौण्डभट्टेन सर्वविधेष्वपि स्फोटेषु वाक्यस्फोट एव सिद्धान्तरूपेण स्वीकृतः। स्पष्टमेवोक्तं तेन 'वाक्यस्फोटोऽतिनिष्कर्षे तिष्ठतीति मतस्थितिः' साधुशब्देऽन्तर्गता हि बोधका न तु

तत्स्मृताः इति कारिकायां वाक्यस्फोटातिरिक्ता। नामन्येषामवास्तवत्वबोधनाय वाक्यपदोपादानम् प्रथमं वर्णस्फोटो निरूप्यते—

नैयायिकाः स्थानिनां वाचकत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। वैयाकरणा आदेशानां वाचकत्वम्। तथाहि—

*व्यवस्थितेर्व्यवहृतेस्तद्धेतुन्यायतस्तथा।*
*किञ्चाख्यातेन शत्राद्यैर्लडेव स्मार्यते यदि।।*
*कथं कर्तुरवाच्यत्ववाच्यत्वे तद्विभावय।*

व्यवस्थानुरोधात् पचति राम इत्यादौ प्रयोगान्तर्गताः तिब्विसर्गादय एव वाचकाः। पचतीत्यादौ लकारमजानतोऽपि जनस्य बोधोदयात्। स्थानिनामपि तत्तद्वैयाकरणैः स्वेच्छया भिन्नानामभ्युपगमात् सर्वत्र शक्तिस्वीकारे आनन्त्यापत्तिः, व्यभिचारश्च। किञ्च स्थानिना वाचकत्वे भूत इत्यतोऽपि भवनकर्तृत्वबोधापत्तिः। तद्वारणाय भवतीति समभिव्याहारस्य कारणत्वकल्पने गौरवम्। किञ्च, लकारस्यैव वाचकत्वे कृत्तिङोः कर्तृभावनावाचकत्व-व्यवस्था न स्यात्। एवं च समभिव्याहृता वर्णास्तत्समुदायो वा वाचक इत्यत्र विनिगमकाभावात् प्रकृतिप्रत्यायानां वाचकत्वे वर्णस्फोटः सिद्धः। सम्प्रति पदस्फोट उच्यते—

*घटेनेत्यादिषु न हि प्रकृत्यादिभिदा स्थिता।*
*वस्नसादाविवेहापि सम्प्रमोहो हि दृश्यते।।*

घटेनेत्यादौ घटे इति प्रकृतिः, न इति प्रत्ययः, घट इति प्रकृतिः, एन इति प्रत्ययविभागस्य सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा इति सिद्धान्तेन प्रत्येकं प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोर्ज्ञानाभावेऽपि समुदायाद् बोधदर्शनेन पदस्फोटः। एवं

*हरेऽवेत्यादि दृष्ट्वा च वाक्यस्फोटं विनिश्चिनु।*
*अर्थे विशिष्य सम्बन्धाग्रहणं चेत्समं भवेत् ।।*
*लक्षणादधुना चेत्तत् पदेर्थेऽप्यस्तु तत्तथा।*

इत्यादिना वाक्यस्फोटो निरूपितः। तथाहि हरेऽव, विष्णोऽवपदयोरेङः पदान्तादति इति एकादेशे सति प्रत्येकं पदज्ञानेऽपि समुदायाद्बोधोदयेन वाक्यस्फोटः सिद्धः अर्थात् पदैः पदार्थबोधवत् वाक्येन वाक्यार्थबोध इति पदार्थनिरूपिता शक्तिर्यथा पदे विद्यते तथा वाक्यार्थनिरूपिता शक्तिर्वाक्ये इति पदस्फोदवाक्यस्फोटौ सिद्धौ। यदा वा घटादिपदार्थबोधे वर्णसमभिव्याहाररूपपदशक्तिज्ञानं कारणमेवं विशिष्टवाक्यार्थबोधे पदसमभिव्याहाररूपवाक्यशक्तिज्ञानं कारणम्। विषयतासम्बन्धेन शाब्दबोधमात्रे वृत्तिज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वात् वाक्ये शक्त्यस्वीकारे बोध एव न स्यात्।

*पदे न वर्णा विद्यन्ते, वर्णेष्ववयवा न च।*
*वाक्यात्पदानामत्यन्तं प्रविवेको न कश्चन।।*

इत्यनेन अखण्डपदस्फोटोऽखण्डवाक्यस्फोटश्च निरूपितः। तथा हि एकारौकारादिषु वर्णेषु प्रतीयमाना अवयवा यथा न सन्ति स्वतन्त्र एवैकार ओकारश्च तथा पचतीत्यादौ न वर्णाः, नातो वर्णसमूहः पदम्, पदानां वाक्यादत्यन्तं प्रविवेको भेदो नास्ति, अर्थात् यथाऽखण्डं पदमेवमखण्डं वाक्यम्। तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*असतश्चान्तराले याञ्छब्दानस्तीति मन्यते।*
*प्रतिपत्तुरशक्तिः सा ग्रहणोपाय एव सः ।।*

अर्थात् मध्ये पदे वर्णानामवभासः, वाक्ये पदानामवभासश्च अशक्तिरेव। स एव स्फोटव्यञ्जकः। न चाखण्डस्फोटस्वीकारे शास्त्रस्य च प्रकृतिप्रत्ययाभ्यां पदव्युत्पादनमात्रार्थत्वाद् इति शङ्का न कर्तव्या। आनन्दवल्लीवद् भृगुर्वै वारुणीं स्वपितरं वरुणां ब्रह्म पृष्टवान्। वरुणश्च तस्मै अन्नं प्राणः चक्षुः श्रोत्रं मनो वाच ब्रह्मोपलब्धौ द्वाराण्युक्तवान्, अथवा अन्नम् ब्रह्मेति वरुणा उवाच। अस्योत्पत्त्यादिकं समीक्ष्य पुनः पप्रच्छ। ततो वरुण उवाच। प्राणो ब्रह्म। अस्यापि अतथात्वात्पुनः प्रश्ने आह मन इति। तस्याप्यशितमन्नं त्रेधा भवति यत्स्थूलं तत्पुरीषं यन्मध्यम्‌ तन्मांसं यदणीयस्तन्मन इत्युत्पत्तिसत्त्वात् पुनः प्रश्ने आह— आनन्दो ब्रह्म। तथा च यथा पञ्चकोशोत्पादनं शुद्धब्रह्मबोधनाय एवं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिव्युत्पादनं वास्तवस्फोटव्युत्पादनाय। तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*उपाया शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।*
*असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते।।*

न च प्रत्यक्षस्य स्फोटस्य श्रवणादितोऽपि बोधसम्भवात् न शास्त्रं तदुपाय इति वाच्यम्, व्याकरणाभ्यासजन्यज्ञाने वैजात्यं कल्प्यते। मन्त्रजन्यमिवार्थस्मरणो, वेदान्तजन्यमिव ब्रह्मज्ञाने। व्याकरणाभ्यासजनितस्फोटज्ञानस्य साक्षात् परम्परया वा स्वर्गमोक्षादिहेतुत्वम्। तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*तद् द्वारमपवर्गस्य वाङ्मलानां चिकित्सितम् ।*
*पवित्रं सर्वविद्यानामधिविद्यं प्रकाशते।।*
*इदमाद्यं पदस्थानं सिद्धिसोपानपर्वणाम् ।*
*इयं सा मोक्षमाणानामजिह्मा राजपद्धतिः ।।*
*अत्रातीतविपर्यासः केवलामनुपश्यति।*
*छन्दस्यश्छन्दसां योनिमात्मा छन्दोमयीं तनूम् ।।*

अनेन वचनेन व्याकरणेऽपगतभ्रमो जनः केवलामनुपश्यति।

*शक्यत्वे इव शक्तत्वे जातेर्लाघवमीक्ष्यताम् ।*
*औपाधिको वा भेदोऽस्तु वर्णानां तारमन्द्रवत् ।।*

इति योऽयं गकारः श्रुतः सोऽयं हकारः इति प्रतीतिवारणाय स्फोटे वर्णा आवश्यकाः। परन्तु न वाचकाः। गौरवात्। आकृत्यधिकरणन्यायेन जातेरेव वाच्यत्ववत् वाचकत्वस्यापि युक्तत्वाच्च। इदं हरिपदमित्यनुगतप्रतीत्या हर्युपस्थितित्वावच्छेदेन हरिपदज्ञानत्वेन हेतुत्वात् तदवच्छेदकतया च जातिविशेष आवश्यकः। तथा च जातिरेव वाचिका तादात्म्येनावच्छेदिका च। सरो रस इत्यादौ औपाधिकभेदादर्थाद् आनुपूर्वीभेदात् तदर्थबोधभेदः। आनुपूर्वी जातिविशेषाभिव्यञ्जिका। न च जातेः प्रत्येकं वर्णेऽपि सत्त्वात् प्रत्येकमर्थबोधापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्।

*अनेकव्यक्त्यभिव्यङ्ग्या जातिः स्फोट इति स्मृता।*
*कैश्चिद्व्यक्तय एवास्या ध्वनित्वेन प्रकल्पिताः।*
*सत्यासत्यौ तु यौ भागौ प्रतिभावं व्यवस्थितौ।*
*सत्यं यत्तत्र सा जातिरसत्या व्यक्तयो मताः।*
*सम्बन्धिभेदात्सत्तैव भिद्यमाना गवादिषु।*
*तां प्रातिपदिकार्थं च धात्वर्थं च प्रचक्षते।*
*सा नित्या सा महानात्मा तामाहुस्त्वतलादयः॥*

इति हरिणा स्पष्टमुक्तत्वात्।

मीमांसकैर्वर्णादीनामेकत्वं नित्यत्वं विभुत्वं च स्वीक्रियते। अकारादिघटितपदस्यापि नित्यत्वम्, आकाशादेर्नित्यत्वेन सर्वदा तदुपलम्भः। कण्ठताल्वाद्यभिघातः तद्व्यञ्जकः। व्यञ्जकसत्त्वे तदुपलब्धिः, तदभावे न। देशभेदेऽपि घटादीनां देशघटितसन्निवेशाभेदवत् कालभेदेऽपि तद्घटितानपपूर्व्या अभेदः। तदुक्तम्—

*प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यभिज्ञानाद्वर्णैकत्वं प्रतिष्ठितम्।*
*वर्णात्मकं पदं तच्च तदभेदान्न भिद्यते॥*

दिनान्तरानुभूतेऽधुनाऽनुभूयमानस्य सोऽयम् इति प्रतिज्ञया तावत्कालं स्थिरत्वे सिद्धे 'तावत्कालं स्थिरं चैनं कः पश्चान्नाशयिष्यति' इति न्यायान्नित्यत्वम्। सर्वदेशेषु तदुपलम्भाद्विभुत्वम्, लाघवाच्चैकत्वम्। न च वर्णानां नित्यत्वे तादृशाव्यवहितोत्तर-क्षणोत्पत्तिकत्वरूपानुपूर्वी। कथमिति वाच्यम्, उत्पत्त्यनवच्छिन्नस्वज्ञानाधिकरण-कालोत्पत्तिज्ञानविषयत्वाद् इति ज्ञानघटितानुपूर्वीस्वीकारेणादोषः। यथा अत्यन्तरागवतः कामिनीसाक्षात्कारस्थले ज्ञानधाराकल्पने गौरवादेकत्वं तद्वज्ज्ञानानामपि एतद्विषये स्थिरत्वम्। न च उत्पन्नः ककारः, विनष्टः ककार इति प्रतीतिवर्णनित्यत्वबाधिका इति वाच्यम्, रूपगतोत्पत्तिविनाशारोपेण स्वाश्रयसमवायित्वसम्बन्धेन वा श्यामो नष्टो, रक्त उत्पन्न इति व्यवहारो यथा भवति तथा ध्वनिनिष्ठोत्पत्तेर्वर्णे आरोपेण स्वाश्रयध्वनिव्यङ्ग्यत्व-रूपपरम्परासम्बन्धेन वा उत्पन्नः ककारः, नष्टः ककार इत्यादिप्रतीत्युत्पत्तेः। शब्दबुद्धिकर्मणां क्षणिकत्वम् इति नैयायिकोक्तम्। तथा हि योग्यविभुविशेषगुणानां स्वोत्तरोत्पन्नविभुविशेषगुणनाश्यत्वम् इति न युक्तम्। इदानीं जानामि, उच्चारिता इति

व्यवहारात्। इदानीं जानामीत्यादेः एकत्वक्षणावच्छिन्नज्ञानवानहमित्यर्थः। तथा च क्षणस्थेन तन्मात्रवृत्तिज्ञानादेरपि प्रत्यक्षत्वं न स्यात्। नैयायिकमते उत्पत्त्यादीनां भेदव्याप्यानां विरोधिना सत्त्वेन सोऽयं गकार इति प्रत्यभिज्ञानुपपत्तिः। न च गत्वावच्छिन्न-प्रतियोगिताकभेदाभावस्तद्विषयः, द्वयोर्घटयोरपि सोऽयमिति प्रत्यभिज्ञापत्तिः। प्रत्यभिज्ञाया व्यक्तिविषयकत्वे बाधकाभावात्। किञ्चैतत्कुलालादिव्यापारानन्तरमनुभूयमानस्य तद्व्यापारतः प्रागनुभूतेन घटेन नाभेदप्रत्यभिज्ञा। अत्र तु एतत्कण्ठताल्वादिव्यापारानन्तरा-मनुभूयमानस्य ततः प्रागनुभूतेनैवाभेदप्रत्यभिज्ञा इति विशेषः। नित्यत्वं चैषां सृष्ट्याद्यकालोत्पत्तिकत्वं, प्रलयकालनाश्यत्वं च। अत एवानेककर्तृकोच्चारणविषयेऽपि एकमिदं घटपदम् इति प्रत्ययः। तच्चेदं पदं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागवतः, प्रकृत्यादिकमपि नित्यमेव यद्वा अखण्डमेव तत्। इति तन्त्र। अनेकवर्णध्वनिकल्पने मानाभावः। अवर्णानामैक्यम्, अवर्णककारदीनां चानेकत्वमित्यर्धजरतीयमनुचितम्। अर्थात् अकाराणां परस्परमैक्यमकारककारयोस्तु परस्परं नैक्यमित्यत्र मानाभावः। तस्मादाकाशवृत्तिरेकः स्फोट एव श्रोत्रग्राह्यः। अत एवैको गकार इति प्रत्ययः गत्वादिकं चाभिव्यञ्जकवायुनिष्ठं तत्तत्स्थनाभिघातव्यङ्ग्यम्। कत्वादिवैजात्याक्रान्तैः स्वरूपरूषितस्य भानम्। तदनाक्रान्तैस्तु ध्वनिरूपेण। ककार उत्पन्न इति व्यवहारस्तु ज्ञाननिष्ठोत्पत्त्याध्यारोपेण भवति। न च वायुनिष्ठकत्वादेः श्रोत्रेण ग्रहे येन यस्य धर्मो गृह्यते तेन तदपि इति न्यायेन वायूनामपि श्रोत्रेण ग्रहणापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्, यद्वृत्तितया धर्मग्रहणं तस्यैव धर्मिणस्तेन ग्रहणस्य चक्षुरादौ क्लृप्तत्वात्। स्फोटवृत्तितया च श्रोत्रेण ग्रहणं, न वायुवृत्तितया इति न वायोः श्रोत्रत्वापत्तिः, रसनादौ रसादिमात्रग्राहकताया दृष्टत्वाच्च। व्यञ्जकगतवैजात्य-मादायैव ककारहकारयोर्भेदव्यवहारः। यथा अद्वैतसिद्धान्ते, विषयसम्बन्धजन्यवृत्तिवैचित्र्येण व्यङ्ग्ये स्वरूपसुखे भेदव्यवहारवत् विशेष्यांशमादायाभेदेऽपि ऐक्यप्रतीतिर्नापाद्या। उपाध्यनालिङ्गिततत्प्रतीत्यभावात्। देशकालभेदप्रत्ययोऽपि औपाधिक एवं। स एव च पदादिरूपेणापि व्यङ्ग्यः। अत्रापि काल्पनिकः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागः पदे। वाक्ये च पदविभागः, भेदेन कल्पिता अपि ते पदवदेव नित्याः। तदुक्तमाद्यन्तौ टकिताविति सूत्रे भाष्ये 'नितयेषु शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यम्।' वर्णपदेनात्र प्रकृतिप्रत्ययागमादयः। अथवा अखण्डान्येव पदानि। रेखागवयन्यायेन तदन्वाख्यानार्थं कल्पिते पदादौ प्रत्ययादिविभागकल्पना पदविभागकल्पना च। तदुक्तमाद्यन्तौ इति सूत्रे भाष्ये 'स्फोट एव कत्वादिना व्यज्यते।' ऐ औच् इति सूत्रे भाष्येऽपि—'न सिंहवज्जात्यन्तरत्वात् वर्णैकदेशानां वर्णगहणेनाग्रहणमिति' पक्षे क्लृप्त इत्यत्र कृपो रो लः इति लत्वं न स्यात् इत्याशङ्क्य 'अथवा उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति इत्युक्तम्। अयमाशयः। वस्तुतो रत्वादिमान्न कश्चित्। किन्त्वन्यगततत्तद्रूपेण स्फोटस्यावभासमात्रम्। एवञ्च कल्प्यते इत्यादौ अस्याप्रवृत्तिः स्यात्। अतः रेफावभासिस्फोटप्रसङ्गे लकाराभासस्फोट इत्यर्थः। कृपावपि रेफावभाससत्त्वाल्लत्वं सिध्यति। आकारादौ तु नैवं ह्रस्वावभास इति न तत्र

ह्रस्वाकारावभासप्रयुक्तं कार्यम्। कैयटेन अन्तर्भूतानन्तर्भूतसाधारणी जातिर्निर्दिश्यते इत्युक्तम्। तन्न समीचीनम्। तादृशजातिसत्त्वे मानाभावात्। नरसिंह- वद्वर्णान्तरमिति स्वोक्तिविरोधाच्च। सादृश्यात्तु प्रत्यभिज्ञा इत्यसङ्गतिः श्रुतिपदास्वारस्यं च। रजातेर्लजातिरित्यनुक्तेश्च। किञ्च, तादृशजातिसत्त्वे वर्णैकदेशानामपि तज्जातिमत्त्वेन वार्णग्रहणेन ग्रहणम् इति पक्षस्यैव सिद्ध्या ग्रहणपक्षमुक्त्वा अथवा न गृह्यन्ते इति पक्षे तत्समाधानपरभाष्यासङ्गतेश्च। अत एव रषाभ्याम् इति सूत्रे यथा नरसिंहावयवानां नरत्वसिंहत्वजातियोगाभावात् पुरुषमृगराजभ्यामेकाकृतियोगाभाव एवं वर्णवर्णैकदेशयोरपि। किञ्च, द्रुतमध्यमविलम्बितासु प्रयत्नभेदमचिराचिरकालोच्चारणजन्यत्वात् भिन्नकालत्वभेदयोरापत्तौ ह्रस्वाकारस्यापि भेदे भिन्नकालत्वे चान्यतमवृत्तौ तपरकरणेऽन्यतमवृत्तावतो भिस् ऐसोऽनापत्तिः। स्फोटाङ्गीकारे तु न दोषः। तदभिव्यक्त्यनन्तरं जायमानेन चिरकालेन वैकृतध्वनिना तस्य चिरकालत्वमुपलब्धावपि स्फोटे वैकृतध्वनिकृतकालभेदाभावात् न दोषः। तमेवायं द्रुतमुच्चारितवान्, अन्यो विलम्बितमिति प्रत्यभिज्ञासत्त्वात्। ह्रस्वदीर्घादौ तु नैवमभेदप्रत्यभिज्ञा। अतएव तपरसूत्रभाष्यकृता वृत्त्यन्तरे ऐसोऽनापत्तिः तत्तद्वृत्ति- जनकयत्नभेदेन वर्णानां तत्तत्कालत्वस्यैवौचित्यात् इत्याशङ्क्य एवन्तर्हि स्फोटः शब्दः, ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः, कथम् ? भेर्याघातवत्। यथा भेर्याहन्ता भेरीमाहत्य कश्चित् विंशतिपदानि गच्छति कश्चित् त्रिंशत् कश्चित् चत्वारिंशत् स्फोटस्तावानेव, ध्वनिकृता वृद्धिः तदुक्तं हरिणा—

*स्फोटस्याभिन्नकालस्य ध्वनिकालानुपातिनः।*
*ग्रहणोपाधिभेदेन कालभेदं प्रचक्षते॥*
*स्वभावतस्तु नित्यत्वाद् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतादिषु।*
*प्राकृतस्य ध्वनेः कालः शब्दस्येत्युपचर्यते॥*

इति। अथवा प्रणवो द्विविधः परोऽपरश्च। परो ब्रह्मात्मकः, अपरः शब्दात्मकः। तदुक्तम्—

*परः परतरं ब्रह्म ज्ञानानन्दादिलक्षणम्।*
*प्रकर्षेण नवं यस्मात् परं ब्रह्मस्वभावतः॥*
*अपरः प्रणवः साक्षात् शब्दरूपः सुनिर्मलः।*
*प्रकर्षेण नवत्वस्य हेतुत्वात् प्रणवः स्मृतः॥*

श्रुतिरपि ओङ्कार एव सर्वा वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना बह्वी नानारूपा भवति। भागवतेऽपि प्रणवस्य स्फोटत्वमुक्तम्। द्वादशस्कन्धे—

*समाहितात्मनो ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः।*
*हृद्याकाशादभून्नादो वृत्तिरोधाद्विभाव्यते॥*

हृद्याकाशान्नादोऽभूद्यः कर्णपुटपिधानेन श्रोत्रवृत्तिनिरोधात् अस्माभिरपि विभाव्यते इत्यर्थः। अतएव मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—

*अर्धमात्रा स्थिता नित्या याऽनुच्चार्या विशेषतः।*

इत्युक्तम्। परमात्मविषयेऽप्युक्तम्—

*शृणोति य इमं स्फोटं सुप्ते श्रोत्रे च शून्यदृक्।*
*येन वाग्व्यज्यते यस्य व्यक्तिराकाश आत्मनः॥*

निरुक्तेऽपि 'व्याप्तिमत्त्वात् तु शब्दस्य' इति प्रतीकमादाय अभिधानाभिधेयरूपा बुद्धिर्हृदयाकाशप्रतिष्ठिता परबोधनेच्छया पुरुषेण उदीर्यमाणा कण्ठादिषु वर्णभावमापद्य बाह्याकाशस्थं शब्दं स्वरूपं कृत्वा श्रोत्रद्वारेण तत्र स्थितां श्रोतुर्बुद्धिमनुप्रविश्य सर्वार्थसर्वाभिधानरूपां तत्तद्बुद्धिं व्याप्नोति।

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# शब्दों के विकास की बहुमुखी धारा

भाषा का विकास नदी के बहाव की तरह है। जिस प्रकार नदी का बहाव किन्हीं चक्करों और मोड़ों के बस में पड़ कर अपने लिये अलग-अलग रास्ते बना लेता है ठीक उसी प्रकार भाषा भी अनेक प्रकार से बल खाती हुई अनेक रूप-रूपान्तरों में अपने को बदल देती है। भाषा-शास्त्र का अध्ययन करने वाले के सामने अक्सर ऐसे उदाहरण उपस्थित होते हैं जिनमें विकास के सिद्धान्त का कुछ अजीब-सा ही प्रयोग दिखलाई देता है। एक ही शब्द किस प्रकार अपने दो उत्तराधिकारी छोड़ देता है, इस का अध्ययन बहुत ही रुचिकर होता है। न केवल इन उत्तराधिकारियों में परस्पर आकृति भेद ही पाया जाता है अपितु अर्थ भेद भी। बहुत से स्थानों पर तो एक ही स्रोत से निकले हुए बहुत से शब्दों के अर्थ एक दूसरे के अर्थ से कोसों दूर जा पहुँचे हैं। आदि में एक ही शब्द था पर बाद में उस से दो भिन्न-भिन्न शब्दों का विकास क्यों हुआ और उसमें अर्थ भेद क्यों हुआ—यह बताना बहुत कठिन है। इसका उत्तर केवल यही हो सकता है—*शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात्* अर्थात् शब्दों में एक प्रकार की शक्ति है जो उन्हें ऐसा करने के लिये प्रेरित करती है। किञ्च, लोक व्यवहार का भी शब्दों के विकास में बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। ऐसा क्यों होता है और ऐसा क्यों नहीं? इसका उत्तर भगवान् पतंजलि ने अनूठे ढंग पर दिया है, '*लोकं पृच्छ*' अर्थात् लोक से यानी लोक-व्यवहार से पूछिये। एक ही वृद्ध शब्द के हिन्दी में दो रूप पाये जाते हैं-बड़ा और बूढ़ा। क्यों? *लोकं पृच्छ*।

ऐसे कुछेक उदाहरण जिनका विकास एक ही मूल स्रोत से हुआ है पाठकों के मनोरंजन के लिये यहाँ उपस्थित किये जाते हैं। संस्कृत का एक शब्द है 'चक्र'। हिन्दी में इसी चक्र के दो रूप पाये जाते हैं—चक्कर और चक्का। चक्का शब्द कुम्हार के साधन विशेष के लिए ही नियत है; जैसे 'कुम्हार चक्का चला रहा है'। चक्कर का अर्थ है घूमना; जैसे 'कहो भई किधर चक्कर लगा रहे हो'। किंच, व्यवहार होता है 'मेरे सिर में चक्कर आ गया' अर्थात् मेरा सिर घूम गया। यही चक्कर शब्द किञ्चित् परिवर्तित रूप में एक और शब्द में भी देखा जाता है

और वह है 'भक्खड़'। भक्खड़ शब्द में चक्कर शब्द के सभी वर्णों को सघोष कर दिया गया है। इस का अर्थ भी चक्कर से भिन्न हो गया है, इस का अर्थ है आँधी। एवमेव चक्र का एक और रूप भी भाषा में देखा जाता है और वह है 'चरखा'। चरखा शब्द में वर्ण-व्यत्यय हुआ है। चक्र शब्द में 'र' 'क' के पश्चात् था, परन्तु इसमें वह पूर्व आ गया है।

संस्कृत में एक शब्द है 'श्लेष'। यह शब्द आलिंगनार्थक श्लिष् धातु से बना है। आलिंगन क्या है? दूसरे के साथ चिपकना ही तो। इसलिये श्लेष का अर्थ छाती से लगा लेने के अतिरिक्त चिपकना भी है। श्लेष एक अलंकार का नाम भी है। उसमें दो अर्थ दो शब्दों, या दो शब्द दो अर्थों से परस्पर चिपके रहते हैं। 'श्लिष आलिंगने' इस सूत्र के नीचे काशिकाकार ने प्रत्युदाहरण दिया है '*समाश्लिषज्जतु काष्ठम्*'। यहाँ चिपकने का अर्थ बहुत ही स्पष्ट है। अस्तु। इस संस्कृत श्लेष शब्द ने भाषा में अपने दो उत्तराधिकारी छोड़ दिये हैं; एक तो है 'लेस' और दूसरा है 'शरेश'। दोनों में मूल शब्द के अर्थ चिपकना का आंशिक स्पर्श पाया जाता है—लेस पिचकने वाले द्रव को कहते हैं और शरेश चिपकाने वाले काले-काले से एक पदार्थ को। दोनों यद्यपि एक ही शब्द की सन्तान हैं तो भी दोनों के अर्थ और प्रयोग-विषय भिन्न-भिन्न हैं।

संस्कृत 'पृष्ठ' शब्द के हिन्दी में दो रूप देखे जाते हैं, पीठ और पुट्ठा। पीठ का अर्थ है शरीर का पिछला भाग (back) पर पुट्ठा का अर्थ है मांसपेशी (muscles)। इसका प्रयोग इस प्रकार देखा जाता है; 'इस पहलवान के पुट्ठे खूब मजबूत है'। पंजाबी में इसी अर्थ में पट्ठा का व्यवहार होता है, *मेरे पट्ठे चढ़ गए ने*। किंच पंजाबी में पुट्ठा का अर्थ उलटा पाया जाता है। वहाँ पुट्ठे शब्द के अर्थ का सम्बन्ध पृष्ठ शब्द के अर्थ से पाया जाता है, पृष्ठ क्या है शरीर का उलटा भाग ही है। पृष्ठ के विकृत रूप पुट्ठा में शरीर के अर्थ का परित्याग हो गया और केवल उलटा अर्थ रह गया।

संस्कृत में एक 'कर्त्तन' शब्द पाया जाता है। इस कर्तन के बहुत से रूप हिन्दी एवं पंजाबी में मिलते हैं। इसी कर्त्तन से काटना बना है। किंच इसी कर्त्तन का दूसरा रूप कतरना है। कतरने के अतिरिक्त कुतरना भी इसका अर्थ पाया जाता है, एक ही कर्त्तन शब्द के भाषा में आकर तीन रूप बन गये हैं और तीनों के अर्थों में भी भेद है, और प्रयोग-विषय में भी। चाकू आदि से यदि किसी चीज़ के टुकड़े किये जायँ तो काटना कहते हैं; प्याज़ आदि किसी चीज़ के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े करने में कतरने का प्रयोग होता है; किसी पक्षी या जानवर द्वारा किसी चीज़ का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा खा लेने या काट लेने पर कुतरने का प्रयोग किया जाता है, जैसे 'पंछी कच्चे अमरूद को कुतर कर फैंक देते हैं', 'चूहों ने मेरा कपड़ा कुतर दिया होगा' आदि। चरखा कातना आदि में कातना शब्द भी संस्कृत कर्त्तन से ही बना है।

संस्कृत की ग्रन्थ धातु ने जितने बहुरूपी उत्तराधिकारी भाषा को प्रदान किये हैं उतने शायद ही किसी ने दिये हो। एक ही ग्रन्थन शब्द के दो रूप देखे जाते हैं; गूंथना और गून्धना। गूंथने का प्रयोग फूलों की माला आदि के लिए किया जाता है और गून्धने का आटे आदि के लिए। किंच, एक ही ग्रन्थ शब्द के दो-तीन भिन्न भिन्न रूप भाषा में दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं, एक है गांठ और दूसरा है गठा। गांठ का अर्थ है बोझा गठरी; गठा का अर्थ है मजबूत, सटा हुआ, जो बोदा न हो; जैसे 'पहलवान का बदन खूब गठा है'। किंच किसी व्यक्ति को अपनी ओर कर लेने में भी गांठना शब्द का प्रयोग बहुधा देखा जाता है, 'किसी अधिकारी को गांठ लीजिये फिर पौ बारह हैं'। अपिच पंजाबी में प्याज़ को गंठा कहा जाता है, वह भी ग्रन्थ से बना है; उसमें नीचे की ओर ग्रन्थि, गांठ पड़ी रहती है। किंच ग्रन्थ का जो गुथ रूप बनता है और जिसका प्रयोग 'वह मेरे से गुथ गया' एवं 'गुत्थमगुत्था' में देखा जाता है; किञ्चित् विकृत रूप गुत है जिसका अर्थ है चोटी। गुत पंजाबी भाषा का शब्द है। चोटी को गुथ या गुत इसलिए कहा जाता कि इसमें परांदा (वेणी) गून्था जाता है। वह गुथ है या गुत है, यहाँ यह विषय विचारणीय है कि गुथ से गुत बनने की प्रक्रिया में 'थ' का तकारांश ही क्यों शेष रहा और महाप्राण अंश क्यों नहीं? आर्य भाषाओं में प्राय: यह देखा जाता है कि महाप्राण अंश ही शेष रहता है और वर्णों के द्वितीय-चतुर्थ अक्षरों का शेष अंश लुप्त हो जाता है। 'शलभ' का पंजाबी रूप 'सलह' बनता है। 'श्लाघन' का विकृत रूप 'सलाहना' बनता है जिसका हिन्दी में सराहना रूप आ जाता है। दोनों में पकार और ककारांश का लोप है; केवल हकारांश बच रहा है, गुत में ऐसा क्यों नहीं? हमारा ऐसा विचार है कि यह ईरानी या पाश्चात्य प्रभाव के कारण है। यह पाश्चात्य प्रभाव हमारी भाषा के कई एक शब्दों में भी दृष्टिगोचर होता है। दृष्टान्त के रूप में 'बुद्ध' का अपभ्रंश 'बुत' पाया जाता है। यहाँ तकारांश शेष है और हकारांश का लोप है। एवमेव जो 'जोजफत' में जो कि बोधिसत्त्व से बना है 'थ' में के 'द' का विकृत रूप 'ज' पाया जाता है और 'ह' का लोप दृष्टिगोचर होता है। एवमेव 'भिक्षु' के विकृत रूप 'बख्शी' में 'ब' ही शेष रहता है 'ह' नहीं।

संस्कृत में वृतु (वर्तने) इस धातु का ल्युडन्त रूप वर्तन बनता है। इस वर्तन शब्द के परस्पर भिन्नार्थक अनेकानेक रूप भाषा में पाये जाते हैं। इसी वर्तन शब्द का बर्तन बना है जिसका अर्थ है पात्र। वर्तन का प्रयोग व्यवहार अर्थ में किया जाता है जैसे 'परस्पर मिलने-बरतने से ही तो प्रेम बढ़ता है'। इसी बर्तन का अन्य रूप भी देखा जाता है और वह है बांटना-रस्सी बांटना। पंजाबी में इसे 'वट्टना' कहते हैं; यह भी बांटना की तरह वर्तन से ही बना है। किंच हिन्दी में पत्थर के टुकड़े के लिये बांट और पंजाबी में बट्टा शब्द पाये जाते हैं, यह भी वर्त शब्द से ही बना है। *वर्त्यत इति वर्तः* अर्थात् बांट या बट्टा इसलिये कहते हैं कि उसे

बरता जाता है। हर समय उस की मसाला आदि पीसने या तोल के वज़न के लिये आवश्यकता रहती है।

संस्कृत 'गृह' शब्द के भाषा में दो रूप पाये जाते हैं, घर और गढ़। घर रिहायशी मकान आदि के लिये प्रयोग में आता हैं और गढ़ दुर्ग के लिये। घर और गढ़ शब्द दोनों ही गृह शब्द की सन्तान होने पर भी अर्थों में इतना भेद रखते हैं। इसी गृह शब्द का एक और रोचक रूप भाषा में मिलता है और वह है घिरना। 'दुर्ग का यवन सेना से घिर जाना' में घिर शब्द गृह शब्द ही है। जहाँ कोई स्थान चारों ओर से वेष्टित कर लिया जाता है वहाँ कहते हैं, 'वह घेर लिया गया है'।

ऐसे शब्द भी भाषा में पाये जाते हैं, जिनका अर्थ विकृत रूप में मूल शब्द के अर्थ के अनुकूल ही रहता हैं। दौड़ने और कपड़े आदि धोने के लिए संस्कृत में धावन शब्द है। इसी धावन शब्द के भाषा में धोना और दौड़ना दो रूप बन गये हैं और प्रत्येक को अलग एक-एक अर्थ सौंप दिया गया है।

संस्कृत के शोभन शब्द के पंजाबी में दो रूप पाये जाते हैं; एक है सोहना और दूसरा है सुहाना। सोहना का अर्थ है सुन्दर, शोभन का यही अर्थ हैं और यही अर्थ सुहाना का है। पर व्यवहार में सोहना और सुहाना में भेद देखा जाता है। हम कहते है, 'ए मुँडा बढ़ा सोहना ए' (यह लड़का बड़ा सुन्दर है) यहाँ सुहाना का प्रयोग नहीं किया जा सकता। इसी प्रकार रमणीय समय या दृश्य आदि के लिये सुहाना शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है, जैसे 'कितना सुहाना समय है' या 'कितना सुहाना दृश्य है।' यहाँ सोहना का प्रयोग नहीं किया जा सकता। किंच सुहावना शब्द भी सुहाना शब्द की अगली सीढ़ी है, शोभन का 'सोहना' अपभ्रंश-पंजाबी में तो मिलता ही है हिन्दी में भी सोहन के रूप में यह दृष्टिगोचर होता है। जैसे सोहन हलवा, सोहन लाल आदि।

संस्कृत के वक्र शब्द ने अपने अपभ्रंश रूपों में अपनी खूब वक्रता दिखाई है। संस्कृत वक्र के पंजाबी और हिन्दी में तीन भिन्न भिन्न रूप पाये जाते है, वखरा-विंगा (पंजाबी) बींका (उर्दू) बांगो (कुमांऊनी और गुरखाली) और बांका। वखरा का अर्थ है अलग; विंगा और बींका और बांगो का अर्थ है टेढ़ा; बांका का अर्थ है छबीला; इन तीनों शब्दों में केवल विंगा या बींका शब्द ही ऐसा है जिसने अपने मूल शब्द वक्र का अर्थ जैसे-का-तैसा अपना लिया है। शेष शब्दों के अर्थों में खूब भिन्नता आई है। कुटिलार्थक वक्र शब्द के विकृत रूप वखरा का अर्थ अलग कैसे हो गया, यह इस लेख का प्रतिपाद्य विषय नहीं है। इस पर लेखान्तर में विचार किया जायगा।

पंजाबी भाषा में संस्कृत के कुब्ज शब्द के तीन रूप पाये जाते हैं। एक तो है कुब्ब दूसरा है कब्बा और तीसरा है खब्बा। कूल्हड़ अर्थ का वाचक कुज्जा शब्द भी कुब्ज से ही बना है। कुब्बा में और कुज्जा में समीकरण का सिद्धान्त

भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार से लगा है। कुब्बा में 'ब' ने 'ज' को अपना रूप दे दिया है पर कुज्जा में 'ज' ने 'ब' को अपने रंग में रंग लिया है। एक ही कुब्ज से निकलने पर भी कुब्बा का अर्थ कुबड़ा, कब्बा का अर्थ टेढ़ा एवं खब्बा का अर्थ बांया कैसे हो गया यह बहुत ही रमणीय विचार है।

संस्कृत के कुब्ज शब्द की तरह 'त्वर' धातु ने भी अपने अनेकानेक उत्तराधिकारी छोड़ दिए हैं। इसी त्वर का तुरना बना है। तुरना क्रियापद है ओर तोर नामपद। पूर्वी पंजाब की भाषा में तोर कहते हैं और पश्चिमी पंजाब की भाषा में टोर कहते हैं। इसी टोर के 'र' को 'ल' में बदल देने पर टोल बनता है। टोल शब्द का प्रयोग प्रायः बांगरू भाषा में देखा जाता है और इसका अर्थ है गिरोह। लोगों के एक दल में टोल शब्द के स्त्रीलिंगांत रूप टोली का प्रयोग हिन्दी में भी देखा जाता हैं। अपने आकारान्त रूप में यही टोल शब्द मुहल्ला के अर्थ में देखा जाता है; जैसे बंगाली टोला आदि। इसी टोल का अर्थ पंजाबी भाषा में ढूँढना है। टोलना (टोलणा) का अर्थ है खोजना। टोलना (टोलणा) का प्रदुर्भाव त्वरण से हुआ है जिसका अर्थ है जल्दी चलना। मनुष्य जल्दी तभी चलता है जब कि कोई चीज़ ढूँढनी होती है इस तरह टोलना (टोलणा) का अर्थ पंजाबी में ढूँढना हो जाता है। ढूँढने के अर्थ में अपने किञ्चित् परिवर्द्धित रूप में यह शब्द हिन्दी में भी पाया जाता है। हिन्दी में ढूँढने के लिये टिटोलना शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं जो कि स्पष्ट ही अति त्वरण का रूपांतर है।

संस्कृत के पर्ण शब्द का एक अपभ्रंश रूप हिंदी में पाया जाता है और वह है पान। पर्ण का प्राकृत में पण्ण बना जिससे कि पान बना। इसी पर्ण की एक और धारा भी साथ ही साथ चली, जिससे पन्ना शब्द बन गया। पान और पन्ना दोनों ही शब्द पर्ण की संतान हैं। पान क्या है, पर्ण ही; पन्ना भी पर्ण ही है। दोनों शब्दों के अर्थों में पत्ता अर्थ विद्यमान रहने पर भी प्रयोग में भेद आ गया है। पान का प्रयोग ताम्बूल पत्र के लिए होता है पर पन्ना का प्रयोग पुस्तकादि के पत्र के लिये।

हिंदी में धागे के लिए 'तांत' का प्रयोग किया जाता है। यह तांत शब्द संस्कृत तन्तु से बना है। पर संस्कृत तन्तु का एक और भी रूप पाया जाता है और वह है तांता जिस का अर्थ है शृङ्खला। यह तांता शब्द भी तन्तु से ही निकला है और एक ही तंतु शब्द के भाषा में दो रूप बन गये हैं। तांत और तांता शब्द का संबंध चरखा आदि कातने की क्रिया से प्रतीत होता है। जब एक के बाद दूसरा तंतु या तांत चला आता है वहाँ कहते हैं तांता बंध गया। बाद में इसका अपना स्वतंत्र अर्थ हो जाता है शृङ्खला—लम्बी लाईन, जैसे 'वहाँ आदमियों का तांता बंध गया'।

संस्कृत 'चतुष्क' के एक दूसरे से बहुत कुछ मिलते-जुलते बहुत से रूप हिंदी में पाए जाते हैं। चौक शब्द, जैसा कि स्पष्ट ही है, चतुष्क शब्द से बना है।

चौक क्या है? चतुष्क; जहाँ चार रास्ते आकर मिलते हैं। इसी चतुष्क शब्द से ही हिंदी चौका शब्द बना है। 'चौंक जाना' में चौंक शब्द भी चतुष्क से ही बना है, चौंकना क्या है? चारों ओर देखने लग जाना। चारों ओर देखना सावधानी का द्योतक है, इसलिये चौंकने का अर्थ सावधान हो गया है। चौका में भी चतुष्क का अर्थ 'चारो ओर' स्पष्ट ही है। रसोई बनाने के स्थान पर चारों ओर सीमा-सी बांध दी जाती है जिस से कि कोई इतर जाति का व्यक्ति भीतर आकर खाना न भ्रष्ट कर जाय। अस्तु। इसी संस्कृत चतुष्क शब्द से ही हिंदी में चौकी बना है। चार पाये या कोने होने के कारण उसे चौकी कहते हैं। पुलिस चौकी भी चतुष्क से ही बनी है। जिस तरह चौक किसी भी मुहल्ले आदि का केंद्र होता है उसी तरह किसी केंद्रीय स्थान पर बनाये जाने के कारण पुलिस चौकी भी, अथवा स्थान विशेष की समस्त घटनाओं का केंद्र होने के कारण उसे चौकी कहा जाता है। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि अकेले संस्कृत के चतुष्क शब्द ने ही हिंदी में आकर नट की तरह कितने रूप बदल लिए हैं! कहीं इसका चौंक बना हे, कहीं चौका, कहीं चौंक और कहीं चौकी बना है। कितनी विचित्र माया है!

संस्कृत के 'दोलन', जो कि दोल् धातु से बना है, के दो-तीन रोचक रूप हमें हिंदी आदि भाषाओं में दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं। इसी दोलन शब्द का हिंदी रूप डोलना है जिस का अर्थ दोलन की तरह हिलना या हिलाना है। हिंदी में विशेषकर पंजाबी एवं बांगरू में तथा पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश में प्रयुक्त होने वाला डोली शब्द भी दोल् से बना है। डोली को डोली शायद इसलिये कहा जाता है कि वह डोलती हुई, हिलती हुई चलती है। किंच पात्र विशेष के लिये प्रयुक्त होने वाला डोल शब्द भी दोल से ही बना है। कुएँ में जब उसे डाला जाता है तो वह डोलता, हिलता है, इसलिए उसे डोल कहा जाता है। इसी डोल की अगली प्रक्रिया डोर है। वर्तमान भाषा विज्ञान के सिद्धांतों में एवंच हमारे पुराने शास्त्रों में भी 'र' और 'ल' का अभेद माना गया है। डोर में भी यही हुआ है। डोर एवंच स्त्रीलिंगांत रूप में डोरी रस्सी को कहते हैं। डोर का प्रयोग प्रायः पतंग आदि के लिए और कुएँ में पानी आदि खींचने के काम में आने वाली रस्सी के लिए आता है। इन प्रयोगों में आदिम अर्थ हिलना का आभास मिल ही जाता है। पतंग जब हवा में डोलता है तो उसकी रस्सी भी हिलती है इसलिए उसे डोर कहा जाता है। एवमेव कुएँ आदि में लोटा आदि को बांध कर डाली जाने वाली रस्सी भी डोलती है। वह भी डोर या डोरी है। डोरी का प्रयोग बहुत से शब्दों में देखा जाता है, जैसे लोटा-डोरी, डोरी-डंडा आदि।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं किस तरह एक ही शब्द विकसित होकर कितने रूपरूपांतरों में बदल जाता है। वास्तव में तो वह एक ही रहता है और उस का अर्थ भी प्रायः एक ही रहता है पर हिंदी आदि भाषाओं में आकर उसके नाना रूप

एवं अर्थ बन जाते हैं। एक हो कर भी वह अनेक बन जाता है। महाकवि भवभूति ने कहा है '*आवर्तबुद्बुदतरंगमयान् विकारान् अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव तु तत्समग्रम्*' अर्थात् यद्यपि भँवर, बुलबुला एवं तरंग आदि अलग-अलग दीखते हैं पर वास्तव में तो वे एक जल के ही रूप हैं। यहाँ भी यद्यपि वहुत से शब्द अलग-अलग रूप एवं आकार में हमारे सामने आते हैं पर वास्तव में तो वे एक ही शब्द की संतान हैं। नट चाहे कितने ही वेष बदल कर हमारे सामने आए, पर रहता तो वह एक ही है; दो चरित्रों का अभिनय करने पर भी वह दो तो नहीं बन जाता, ठीक यही स्थिति शब्द की भी है।

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# व्युत्पत्ति और अर्थ निर्धारण

व्युत्पत्ति और अर्थ-निर्धारण इन दोनों का परस्पर का सम्बन्ध है यह प्रश्न बहुत समय से चला आ रहा है। एक मत है—जिसे कि प्राचीन काल में सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार किया गया था—*अन्यत्तु शब्दव्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तम् अन्यच्च प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् ।* शब्दों का दो प्रकार का अर्थ होता है-एक व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्त और दूसरा प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त। व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्त का अर्थ है व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य अर्थ। दूसरा प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त अर्थात् व्यवहार पर आधृत है। उदाहरण के लिये 'गो' शब्द को लिया जा सकता है। इसका व्युत्पत्ति-निमित्त अर्थ है—गच्छति। 'गम्' धातु से उणादि 'डो' प्रत्यय लगकर 'गो' शब्द को व्युत्पन्न किया जा सकता है-जो चलती है या चलता है। (गो शब्द पुल्लिग में भी हैं और स्त्रीलिंग में भी—*अयं गौः, इयं गौः।* पुल्लिग में इसका अर्थ बैल है, स्त्रीलिंग में गाय)। इसी प्रकार अजतीति अजः (बकरा) स्त्रीलिंग-अजा (बकरी)। अश्नोति अध्वानमिति अश्वः—जो मार्ग को व्याप्त करता है यह व्युत्पत्ति-निमित्त अर्थ हुआ। प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त अर्थ अर्थात् प्रचलित अर्थ हुआ घोड़ा। गो का प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त अर्थ है-सास्नादिमत् पदार्थ। हर प्राणी जो चलता है उसे 'गो' नहीं कहा जाता। निरुक्तकार शब्द के मूल तक पहुँचने का प्रयास करता है-शब्द का क्या मूल रहा होगा। प्रचलन या व्यवहार के कारण शब्द अनेक बार मूल से बहुत दूर हट जाते हैं। निरुक्तकार का प्रयास होता है कि वह उसके मूल तक पहुँचे। मूल तक पहुँचने के लिये उसे अर्थ का सहारा लेना पड़ता है। यास्क ने जहाँ निर्वचन के सिद्धांत बतलाये हैं वहाँ यह बात बहुत स्पष्ट कर दी है कि '*अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत*' अर्थात् अर्थ को ही ध्यान में रख कर शब्द की परीक्षा करे-अर्थात् इस शब्द का मूल रूप क्या रहा होगा इसका निर्धारण करे-*अर्थनित्यः अर्थे नित्यः अर्थे नियतः सन् परीक्षेत* अर्थात् केवल अर्थ को ही दृष्टि में रख कर शब्द का परीक्षण करे। यहाँ तक कहा गया है कि '*न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात्*—निर्वचन न करे यह नहीं अर्थात् निर्वचन अवश्य करे। यास्क ने कहा है कि '*विशयवत्यो हि वृत्तयो भवन्ति*'—शब्दों का अर्थ के साथ सम्बन्ध इस प्रकार का होता है कि उसमें बहुत

बार सन्देह होता है (विशय = सन्देह)। इसमें तीन उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किये जा सकते हैं-'प्रवीण', 'उदार' और 'निस्त्रिंश' जिनमें अनिश्चितता है (प्रवीणोदारनिस्त्रिंशास्त्रयः शब्दा अनिश्चिताः—इस प्राचीन वृत्ति को क्षीरस्वामी ने उद्धृत किया है)। 'प्रवीण' शब्द का व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य अर्थ है-*प्रकृष्टो वीणायाम्* (जो वीणावादन में निपुण हो)। कालान्तर में इसी का अर्थ निपुण, निष्णात हो जाता है। यहाँ निरुक्तकार का काम है कि इस शब्द के मूल तक पहुँचे- इसका मूल रूप क्या रहा होगा। सौभाग्य से 'प्रवीण' शब्द के विषय में इतनी अनिश्चितता नहीं है जितनी अगले शब्द 'उदार' के विषय में है। 'उदार' शब्द 'उद्' और 'आर'-इन दो शब्दों से बना है। 'आर' का अर्थ है दशा। उदार का अर्थ हुआ जो दशा से परे है। कालांतर में उदार शब्द उस व्यक्ति के लिये प्रयुक्त होने लगा जो मात्र संकेत से ही अभिप्राय समझ लेता है-उसके आगे प्रार्थना नहीं करनी पड़ती, प्रार्थी का रुख क्या है, यह उसकी भाव-भंगिमा से ही उसकी समझ में आ जाता है। इस प्रकार वह पुरुष उदार हो गया। यहाँ न तो 'आर' शब्द का कोई सम्बन्ध है, न 'उत्' का। उदार शब्द सर्वथा भिन्न अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने लगा। इसका प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त अर्थ liberal हो गया। व्युत्पत्ति-निमित्त अर्थ इससे सर्वथा भिन्न है। अन्यान्य शब्दों में भी इस प्रकार की स्थिति उपलब्ध होती है। 'निस्त्रिंश' शब्द भी इसी प्रकार का है। व्याकरण की प्रक्रिया से इसका अर्थ है-'*निर्गतस्त्रिंशद्भ्य अंगुलिभ्यः*'। परंतु इसकी इस प्रकार की व्युत्पत्ति, इसमें जो 'त्रिंश' शब्द है उसको 'त्रिंशत्' का रूप मान कर, की जाती है। वस्तुतः इसकी निरुक्ति—जो प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होती है-तीन प्रकार की दशाओं से, आराओं से, अग्रभाग से *श्यति हिनस्ति इति खड्गः।* यह अर्थ निर्वचन से प्राप्त हुआ है। इसका प्रचलित अर्थ 'खड्ग' ही है।

शब्द का अर्थ के साथ अनेक प्रकार का सम्बन्ध हो सकता है। अतः निरुक्तकार शब्द का अर्थ के साथ अनेक प्रकार का सम्बन्ध उपस्थित करता है। अर्थ की जो अनेक कोटियाँ हैं उन्हीं को लक्षित करके अनेक प्रकार के निर्वचन उपस्थित किये जाते हैं।

यास्क ने निरुक्त का एक प्रयोजन बताया है-'*व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्र्यम्*'- यह व्याकरण को पूर्ण करता है, साथ में अपना काम भी करता है। यह शब्दों को मूल रूप में समझने में सहायक होता है। इसके लिये यह अनेक उपाय अपनाता है। अक्षरसाम्य, वर्णसाम्य आदि को भी दृष्टि में रखता है किंतु मुख्य बात अर्थ की संगति है (अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत)। अतः निरुक्तकार की दृष्टि अर्थ की संगति की ओर ही रहती है।

यह शब्द के मूल तक पहुँचने के लिये प्राचीन दृष्टि है। आज इसके लिये अन्य साधन भी उपलब्ध हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि अनेक स्थलों पर प्राचीन निर्वचन भ्रांत भी होता है। बहुत बार ऐसा होता है कि शब्द संस्कृत का नहीं होता

किंतु फिर भी उसे संस्कृत का मान कर उसका निर्वचन किया जाता है। इस प्रकार का एक शब्द 'अग्नि' है। यह प्रागैतिहासिक काल का शब्द है। यास्क ने इसकी व्युत्पत्ति वैदिक या संस्कृत शब्द मान कर दी है—'*अग्निःकस्मात्? अग्रणीर्भवति, अगं नयति सन्नममानः, अक्नोपनो भवति।*' अग्रणी इसलिये कि वह देवदूत होता है, आगे-आगे जाता है, यजमान की भावना को पहुँचाता है। इस अग्रणी (अग्र+नी) का अग्नि रूप हो गया। *अगं नयति सन्नममानः* में अंग+नी है जो अग्नि हो गया। *अक्नोपनो भवति*—इसको गीला नहीं किया जा सकता (अक्नोपन-अ+क्नी)। यहाँ तीनों निर्वचनों में अर्थ की दृष्टि से सामंजस्य है। फिर भी ये निर्वचन शब्द के वास्तविक मूल तक नहीं पहुँचाते।

ऊपर कहा गया है कि निरुक्त व्याकरण को कृत्स्न अर्थात् परिपूर्ण बनाता है। निरुक्तकार का काम यह बताना नहीं है कि शब्द की रचना किस प्रकार हुई; यह काम व्याकरण का है। व्याकरण वर्णों के लोप, विकार, व्यत्यय आदि को बताता है। निरुक्त व्याकरण के लिये सहायक है क्योंकि शब्द के मूल रूप को बता देता है। निरुक्तकार और अर्थकार का निकट का सम्बन्ध है क्योंकि शब्द और अर्थ का सम्बन्ध भारतीय परम्परा में नित्य है। रघुवंश का आरम्भिक कथन—'*वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ*' इसमें प्रमाण है। निरुक्त शब्द के मूल रूप को बता देता है जिससे शब्द के अर्थ का पता चल जाता है। यहाँ उदाहरण के रूप में लौकिक संस्कृत के कुछ अत्यन्त प्रचलित अर्थ प्रस्तुत किये जा रहे हैं—

**कृपण** (कंजूस)—इसका मूल अर्थ है कृपा (दया) के योग्य। यह कृप् धातु से निष्पन्न है। प्राचीन वाङ्मय में इसका इस अर्थ में प्रयोग भी हुआ है—*दुहिता कृपणं परम्, कृपणाः फलहेतवः* आदि। इसका वर्तमान अर्थ है—*यो न ददाति न भुङ्क्ते स कृपणः* (जो न देता है, न भोग करता है)। वास्तव में ऐसा व्यक्ति भी कृपा (दया) का पात्र है, क्योंकि कहा गया है-

*दानं भोगो नाशः तिस्रो गतयो भवन्ति वित्तस्य।*
*यो न ददाति न भुङ्क्ते तस्य तृतीया गतिर्भवति।।*

**वदान्य** (उदार)—यह शब्द वद् धातु से निष्पन्न है—*वदति दीयताम् इति वदान्यः*-जो यह कहता है कि दिया जाय, दिया जाय।

**याप्य** (निन्दनीय)—यह या धातु से निष्पन्न है—*याप्यत इति याप्यः*-जिसको ले जाया जाय; जो स्वयं नहीं चल सकता और इसलिये जिसको शिबिका में वहन करना पड़े। इससे अर्थ विकसित हुआ निन्दनीय।

**उत्सिक्त** (भरा हुआ, उछलता हुआ, अभिमानी)—इसका मूल अर्थ है जिस पर छिड़क दिया गया हो- besprinkled। अब प्रश्न यह है कि किससे besprinkled? प्राचीन वाङ्मय इस दिशा में रास्ता दिखाता है। रामायण में प्रयोग आया है—

दर्पोत्सिक्तः, besprinled with pride, puffed up with pride। अहंकार से फूले हुए को हम केवल फूला हुआ कह देते हैं।

तिरस्कृत (अपमानित)—इसका मूल अर्थ है, जिसे छिपा दिया गया हो। इसी से *तिरस्करणी विद्या* (अन्तर्धान होने की विद्या) शब्द आया है। इससे बाद में अर्थ विकसित हुआ—अपमानित, जिसकी अवहेलना की गयी हो।

भाषा में जब शब्दों का प्रयोग होता है तो अनेक प्रकार के परिवर्तन हो जाते हैं। इन परिवर्तनों को व्याकरण ने 'अपभ्रंश' कहा है। यहाँ अपभ्रंश का अर्थ है, परिवर्तन। जब शब्दों का अभिधाता या वक्ता ठीक से उच्चारण नहीं कर पाता है तो उसके स्वरूप में परिवर्तन हो जाता है। यह परिवर्तन शब्दों को अपने मूल रूप से बहुत दूर ले जाता है। यही कारण है कि जिस रूप में शब्दों का प्रयोग होना चाहिये उस रूप में नहीं किया जाता; उससे भिन्न रूप में किया जाता है। निरुक्तकार ने कहा है कि उन शब्दों के विषय में तो सन्देह होता नहीं जिनमें कि स्वर और संस्कार अर्थ की दृष्टि से संगत हो—*प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ स्याताम् संविज्ञातानि तानि*—जब स्वर (उदात्तादि वैदिक स्वर) और संस्कार (व्याकरणिक प्रक्रिया) अर्थ की दृष्टि से संगत (समर्थ) होते हैं, '*प्रादेशिकेन गुणोनान्वितौ*' में जो पद्धति बताई गई है उस पद्धति के अनुसार उन शब्दों का स्वरूप होता है, इस प्रकार के शब्दों का सम्यक् ज्ञान होता है (संविज्ञातानि तानि), इसमें सन्देह नहीं। किंतु-'*अथानन्वितेऽर्थे अप्रादेशिके*'-जब अर्थ की संगति नहीं लगती और व्याकरण की प्रक्रिया भी वहाँ पर अर्थ की दृष्टि से संगत नहीं होती, वहाँ निरुक्त का प्रवेश होता है। व्यवहार के कारण वक्ता की अशक्ति, अज्ञान या व्यामोह के कारण, या ऐसे ही अनेक कारणों से शब्दों के स्वरूप में परिवर्तन हो जाता है। कभी-कभी यह समझा जाता है कि यह एक प्रकार की त्रुटि है। कालान्तर में उस अपभ्रंश को भी स्वीकार कर लिया जाता है और वह शब्द उसी प्रकार का शुद्ध रूप मान लिया जाता है जिस प्रकार उसका मूल रूप था। इसके उदाहरण हैं संस्कृत के 'गृह' तथा 'गेह' शब्द। मूल रूप में 'गृह' शब्द ही था। पाणिनि ने अष्टाध्यायी में 'गृह' शब्द की सिद्धि की है, गेह शब्द की नहीं की। सूत्र दिया है '*गेहे कः*'—ग्रह् धातु से क प्रत्यय होने पर गृह शब्द बनता है, गेह अर्थ में। यहाँ पाणिनि ने 'गेह' का अर्थ की दृष्टि से प्रयोग तो कर दिया, सिद्धि नहीं की। आश्चर्य की बात है कि एक ही सन्दर्भ में पाणिनि गृह और गेह शब्द का प्रयोग कर रहे हैं, किंतु एक की सिद्धि कर रहे हैं और दूसरे का मात्र प्रयोग कर रहे हैं। कारण क्या था?—'गेह' शब्द 'गृह' का ही परिवर्तित रूप है। 'ऋ' कभी 'अ' हो जाता है, कभी 'इ' हो जाता है, कभी 'उ' हो जाता है, कभी 'ए' हो जाता है, कभी 'ओ' हो जाता है। गृह शब्द गेह हो गया और गेह शब्द संस्कृत में आ गया। यहाँ अब कोई गेह शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति सिद्ध करना चाहेगा तो उसके लिये कठिनाई होगी। जहाँ तक 'गृह'

शब्द है, वह स्पष्ट है, वह उस स्थिति में है जहाँ *स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ।*

किंतु व्याकरण के अनुसार 'गेह' शब्द नहीं बनाया जा सकता। यहाँ व्युत्पत्ति का सिद्धान्त आ जायेगा। यह बताना होगा कि यह 'ग्रह्' धातु से ही बना है। उसमें परिवर्तन बतला कर शब्द की सिद्धि करनी होगी। लौकिक संस्कृत में अनेक स्थल हैं जहाँ व्युत्पत्ति का आश्रय लेना होगा। इसी प्रकार 'गुत्स' तथा 'गुच्छ' शब्द हैं। 'गुच्छ' 'गुत्स' का ही अपभ्रंश है। दोनों ही संस्कृत में प्रयुक्त हैं। अनेक प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में 'गुत्स' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। इसी प्रकार के शब्द हैं 'वत्स' तथा 'वच्छ'। इस प्रकार संस्कृत में ही अनेक स्थानों पर शब्दों में परिवर्तन हो गया है। अनेक स्थानों पर नहीं भी हुआ। जहाँ परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ वहाँ स्थिति स्पष्ट है। किंतु जहाँ परिवर्तन हो गया वहाँ निर्वचन की भूमिका आ जाती है और निर्वचन के आधार पर अर्थ-निर्धारण किया जा सकता है। अब 'धन' शब्द को लीजिये। इसके लिये कोई धातु नहीं दीखती। किंतु इसमें जो 'न' है उसका 'कमनीय' के 'न' से साम्य है। यास्क का कथन है—'*अक्षरवर्णसाम्यात् निर्ब्रूयात्, न तु न निर्ब्रूयात्।*' इसलिये 'धन' को 'कमनीय' से सम्बद्ध कर दिया गया और कह दिया गया कि *धनं कमनीयं भवति।* इस प्रकार के स्थलों में निर्वचन सहायक होता है। निर्वचन एक साधन है। इससे शब्द के मूल तक पहुँचा जा सकता है। और फिर इससे अर्थ-निर्धारण हो सकता है। ये एक दूसरे के सहायक हैं। वैदिक भाषा के विषय में यह बात और अधिक चरितार्थ है क्योंकि *परोक्षप्रिया हि देवाः।* वैदिक भाषा बहुत सुदूर अतीत काल की भाषा है और आज की संस्कृत या यास्क-काल की संस्कृत वैदिक भाषा से बहुत दूर की भाषा है। इसलिये यास्क ने वैदिक शब्दों की व्याख्या के सन्दर्भ में निरुक्त को प्रस्तुत किया। वेद के छः अंगों में निरुक्त और व्याकरण भी हैं। व्याकरण की रचना निरुक्त के साथ-साथ वेद की रक्षा के लिये की गई- *रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अध्येयं व्याकरणम्।* जहाँ व्याकरण के प्रयोजन बताये गये है वहाँ सबसे पहले रक्षा ही बताया गया है। प्राचीन काल में एक वेदरूपी पुरुष की कल्पना की गई। व्याकरण को उत्तमांग के रूप में उसका प्रमुख अंग बताया गया। निरुक्त को श्रोत्र बताया गया। छन्द को पाद बताया गया। जिस प्रकार मनुष्य के अंग होते हैं उसी प्रकार वेद-पुरुष के अंगों की कल्पना की गई। इस प्रकार के वेद को समझने के लिये एक शास्त्र रचा गया है—वह शास्त्र निर्वचन-शास्त्र या निरुक्त-शास्त्र कहलाया। वह शास्त्र वेद तक ही सीमित रहे यह आवश्यक नहीं, उसका प्रयोग हर भाषा के लिये किया जा सकता है, क्योंकि हर भाषा की वही स्थिति हो सकती है जो वैदिक-भाषा, लौकिक संस्कृत या पालि-प्राकृत की हो सकती है।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण में एक संकेत दिया गया है—इन्द्र बृहस्पति के पास गये ओर उनसे कहने लगे कि यह वाणी है, इस वाणी का विश्लेषण कर दीजिये। (यहाँ इन्द्र सम्भवतः कोई वैयाकरण रहे होंगे क्योंकि वैयाकरणों की सूची में सबसे पहला नाम उन्हीं का है- इन्द्रः चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नः आपिशलिः शाकटायनः।....... . शाब्दिकाः। बृहस्पति भी देवगुरु का नाम रहा होगा या कोई प्रमुख आचार्य रहे होंगे)। *तानि ह मध्ये अवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्*-बृहस्पति ने वाणी को बीच में से लिया और काट दिया। बड़ी सीधी सी बात है कि वाणी का विश्लेषण कर दिया। *सा वै व्याकृता वाक्*—यही वह वाणी है जिसका विश्लेषण किया गया। सबसे पहले जो वाणी के विश्लेषण का प्रयास किया गया उसका संस्कृत वाङ्मय में यह प्रथम संकेत है।

यह सम्भावना नहीं लगती कि आरम्भ में शब्दों का प्रविभाजन प्रकृति और प्रत्यय के रूप में रहा होगा। मूल रूप में, जब भाषा का विश्लेषण नहीं हुआ होगा, यह कल्पना कुछ इस प्रकार आरम्भ हुई होगी। 'भवति' शब्द को लिया गया होगा। 'भवति' में एक अंश-'ति'-तो ऐसा है जो अन्यत्र गच्छति, पठति आदि में भी प्राप्त होता है। किन्तु एक अंश ऐसा है जो केवल इसी में है, अन्यत्न प्राप्त नहीं होता। इसी अन्यत्न प्राप्त न होने वाले अंश को धातु की संज्ञा दी गई होगी। यह स्थिरांश है। एक आधुनिक विचारक ने यह विचार प्रस्तुत किया कि पाणिनि की जो सार्वधातुक व आर्धधातुक संज्ञाएँ हैं वे भाषा के विश्लेषण के ऐतिहासिक विकास-क्रम को इंगित करती हैं। सार्वधातुक क्या है? जब विश्लेषण प्रवृत्त हुआ तो शब्द को दो भागों में विभक्त किया गया। उस समय 'भवति' में 'भव' इस सम्पूर्ण को धातु माना गया तथा 'ति' को प्रत्यय माना गया। कालान्तर में विश्लेषण की प्रक्रिया और बढ़ी। देखा गया कि (भव, पच आदि के अन्त में) सब जगह 'अ' ही नहीं होता—किसी जगह 'अ' होता ही नहीं है, किसी जगह 'य' होता है, कहीं 'उ' होता है, कहीं 'न' होता है। अतः यह सोचा गया कि इसे हम स्थिरांश धातु नहीं मान सकते। अतः इसे भी धातु से पृथक् किया गया। (भव > भू + अ) इसे विकरण की संज्ञा दी गई। अब तीन अंश हो गये—धातु, विकरण और प्रत्यय। अब लगा कि धातु आधी रह गई अर्ध धातु; 'भव' के स्थान पर 'भू' रह गया। सर्वधातु अब अर्धधातु रह गई। यह भी चिन्तन की एक पद्धति है और विद्वानों के विचार के योग्य है।

इस प्रकार विश्लेषण प्राचीन काल से ही चलता रहा। निरुक्त ने निर्वचन किया। व्याकरण ने उस प्रक्रिया को बतलाया जिस प्रक्रिया से शब्द मूल रूप से वर्तमान रूप में पहुँचा है। परंतु इसी सारी प्रक्रिया की पृष्ठभूमि में एक बात रही अर्थ की संगति-जब तक अर्थ की संगति नहीं होगी, सारा विश्लेषण व्यर्थ हो जायेगा। अब जब विश्लेषण किया जाता है तो इस दृष्टि से किया जाता है कि

शब्द जिस अर्थ को अब बता रहा है उस अर्थ की संगति उसके मूल रूप से है कि नहीं। शब्द का अर्थ और उसका मूल रूप, यदि इन दोनों में विसंगति है, यदि ये दोनों पृथक्-पृथक् दिशाओं में हैं तो इनका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं हो सकता।

सभी शब्दों का निर्वचन सम्भव है कि नहीं, यह विषय बहुत विवादास्पद रहा है। यास्क ने निरुक्त में इसे उठाया है—'*सर्वाणि नामानि आख्यातजानि इति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च*'—सभी नामपद आख्यातज हैं, उनका निर्वचन सम्भव हो सकता है, उनका धातु से उद्भव हो सकता है, यह मत शाकटायन का है और नैरुक्तों (निरुक्तों के आचार्यों) का भी यही सिद्धांत है। '*न सर्वाणि इति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके*-सभी शब्द (आख्यातज) नहीं हैं, यह गार्ग्य का मत है तथा कुछ वैयाकरणों का भी जिनमें पाणिनि भी हैं। पाणिनि ने 'उणादयो बहुलम्' कह दिया है और सब शब्दों की व्युत्पत्ति नहीं बतलाई है। उन्होंने *पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्* भी कहा है, अर्थात् पृषोदरादि शब्दों को जिस प्रकार कहा गया है, उसी प्रकार स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिये। वैयाकरणों का यह सिद्धांत रहा है—*उणादयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि*-उणादि प्रकरण में जितने भी शब्द हैं वे अव्युत्पन्न हैं-उनकी व्युत्पत्ति नहीं हो सकती।

सब शब्दों की व्युत्पत्ति हो सकती है या नहीं यह विषय इसलिये भी विवादास्पद रहा है क्योंकि अनेक बार शब्द अपने मूल रूप से इतना हट जाते हैं कि उनके मूल रूप तक पहुँच पाना बहुत कठिन हो जाता है और अन्त में व्यक्ति निश्शस्त्र होकर यही कह देता है कि जिस रूप में ये शब्द हैं उसी रूप में इन्हें स्वीकार कर लीजिये, इनके निर्वचन करने का प्रयास मत कीजिये। परंतु जहाँ तक सम्भव है, वहाँ तक प्रयास करना चाहिये।

आज के सन्दर्भ में जब निर्वचन-शास्त्र को लिया जाय तो एक सावधानी बरतनी होगी। मूल रूप तक तो पहुँचना ही होगा किंतु तुलनात्मक भाषाशास्त्र की दृष्टि से अन्यान्य भाषाओं का भी अवलोकन करके शब्द के मूल रूप तक पहुँचना श्रेयस्कर होगा अन्यथा कहीं न कहीं, जिस प्रकार भर्तृहरि ने कहा था—*विनिपातो न दुर्लभः*, व्यक्ति की गिरने की सम्भावना रहेगी। अभी अग्नि शब्द की चर्चा हुई थी। अग्नि शब्द, जो प्रागैतिहासिक शब्द है, ग्रीक में भी पाया जाता है और लैटिन में भी—इग्निस, उग्निस आदि इसी के रूप हैं। अंग्रेजी के ignite तथा ignition भी इसी से बने शब्द हैं। इसकी कर्मकाण्ड की दृष्टि से *अग्रणीर्भवति* आदि जो व्युत्पत्तियां हम देते हैं वह कहाँ तक सही होंगी, यह विचारणीय है।

इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, जितनी भी परिस्थितियाँ हैं उन सब का अवलोकन करते हुए यदि निर्वचन-शास्त्र का आश्रय लिया जाता है तो निश्चित ही भाषा के अर्थ-निर्धारण में-शब्दों के सही-सही अर्थ पकड़ पाने में -हमें सहायता मिलेगी, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं।

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# संस्कृत में कारकों की विवक्षाधीनता

कारक का लक्षण किया गया है, '*क्रियान्वयि कारकम्*' अर्थात् क्रिया से जो अन्वित है वह कारक है। भगवान् पाणिनि ने अपने सूत्रों में प्रत्येक कारक का लक्षण दिया है और उन परिस्थितियों का निर्देश किया है, जिनमें उनका प्रयोग किया जा सकता है। पर कोई भी वैयाकरण कितना भी परिपूर्ण व्याकरण क्यों न रचे, वह सम्पूर्ण वाग्व्यवहार को अपने व्याकरण में नहीं बाँध सकता। उसके पर्याप्त बृहद् अंश के लिये वह अपने व्याकरण में नियम-विधान कर सकता है, फिर भी स्वल्प, पर महत्त्वपूर्ण स्वल्प-अंश, उसकी पकड़ से छूट जाता है। उस अंश के लिये उसके व्याकरण में नियम उपलब्ध नहीं होते। वहाँ लोकव्यवहार ही निर्णायक होता है। कारकों को ही लीजिये। वैयाकरणों ने स्वीकार किया है—*विवक्षात: कारकाणि भवन्ति*' अर्थात् कारक विवक्षा के अधीन हैं। विवक्षा भी प्रयोक्ता की नहीं, अपितु लोक की—*लौकिकी चेह विवक्षा न प्रायोक्त्री*। अन्यथा तो जो कोई भी वक्ता जैसा चाहेगा, वैसा प्रयोग करने लगेगा। पर प्रयोग वही किया जाना चाहिये जो लोक में प्रचलित हो, भले ही वह व्याकरण द्वारा प्रतिपादित हो या न हो। संस्कृत जैसी प्राचीन भाषा में लोकव्यवहार का निर्णय शिष्टों अथवा प्रामाणिक लेखकों की रचनाओं से होता है। उदाहरण के लिये संस्कृत में सब प्रकार के यान (जिनमें शरीर आदि के अंग भी, जिन्हें यान समझा जाता है, सम्मिलित हैं) करण माने जाते हैं, यद्यपि वे वस्तुगत्या निर्विवाद रूप से अधिकरण हैं। ग्रन्थकारों की ऐसी ही विवक्षा है। जहाँ हिन्दी में हम कहते हैं 'वह रथ में आता है', वहाँ संस्कृत में '*स रथेनायाति*' ऐसा ही कहने की शैली है। जहाँ हिन्दी में हम कहते हैं 'वह कन्धे पर भार उठाता है', संस्कृत में 'हमें *स स्कन्धेन भारं वहति*' यही कहना चाहिये। रथादि की करणता (न कि अधिकरणता) ही भगवान् सूत्रकार को अभिमत है, इसमें अष्टाध्यायीगत अनेक सूत्र ही प्रमाण हैं, जैसे—'*वह्यं करणम्*' (3.1.102); '*दाम्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे* (3.2.182), *चरति* (4.4.8)। '*वहत्यनेनेति वह्यं शकटम्*'; '*पतत्युड्डयतेऽनेनेति पत्त्रं पक्षः*', '*पतति*

*गच्छत्यनेनेति पत्त्रं वाहनम्'*; *'शकटेन चरतीति शाकटिकः'*, *'हस्तिना चरतीति हास्तिकः'*। इस विषय में प्राचीन संस्कृत साहित्य में भी पर्याप्त प्रमाण उपलब्ध हो जाते हैं, यथा—

> *यश्चाप्सरोविभ्रममण्डनानां सम्पादयित्रीं शिखरैर्बिभर्ति* (धातुमत्ताम्)।[1]
> *मध्येन सा वेदिविलग्नमध्या वलित्रयं चारु बभार बाला।*[2]
> *गुणानुरागेण शिरोभिरुह्यते नराधिपैर्माल्यमिवास्य शासनम्।*[3]
> *गामधास्यत्कथं नागो मृणालमृदुभिः फणैः*[4]
> *तथेति शेषामिव भर्तुराज्ञामादाय मूर्ध्ना मदनः प्रतस्थे।*[5]
> *न भारं शिरसा वहेत्।*[6]

कहीं-कहीं वस्तुसिद्ध करणत्व की उपेक्षा की जाती है और साथ ही कारकत्व की भी। केवल सम्बन्ध-मात्र की ही विवक्षा होती है। तृप् धातु के प्रयोग में यह विशेषतः चरितार्थ है, यथा—

> *अनुकामं तर्पयेथामिन्द्रावरुण राय आ।*[7]
>
> *अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्।*
> *वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति सुराया इव दुर्मदी।*[8]
> *अमृतस्येव नातृप्यन् प्रेक्षमाणा जनार्दनम्।*[9]
> *नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां नापगानां महोदधिः।*[10]
> *अपां हि तृप्ताय न वारिधारा स्वादुः सुगन्धिः स्वदते तुषारा।*[11]

यहाँ षष्ठी का ही व्यवहार शिष्ट-सम्मत है। इसमें *'पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्यय-तव्यसमानाधिकरणेन'* (2.2.11) यह सूत्र ज्ञापक है। 'सुहितार्थ' (तृप्तार्थक) सुबन्त के साथ षष्ठ्यन्त का समास नहीं होता, ऐसा कहा है। सुरा, अमृत, काष्ठ, अप् (जल) आदि के करण, तृतीयान्त होते हुए शैषिक षष्ठी का कोई अवकाश ही नहीं था तो निषेध व्यर्थ था। इससे ज्ञापित होता है कि सूत्रकार को यहाँ षष्ठी इष्ट है। क्वाचित्कतया √तृप् के प्रयोग में कारकत्व की विवक्षा कर भी ली जाती है, पर वहाँ स्वभावसिद्ध करण कारक की नहीं, अपितु अधिकरण की, यथा—*'अथवा श्रेयसि केन तृप्यते'*[12] । जैसा कि √तृप् धातु के प्रयोग में पूर्व कहा गया था, वैसा ही 'पूर्ण' शब्द के प्रयोग में भी कहा जा सकता है। इस शब्द के योग में (षष्ठी-विभक्ति-परिलक्ष्य) सम्बन्ध-मात्र की ही विवक्षा प्रायः देखी जाती है, यथा-*'ओदनस्य पूर्णश्छात्रा विकुर्वते'*[13], *'दासी घटमपां पूर्णं पर्यस्येत् प्रेतवत्पदा'*[14], *'तस्येयं पृथ्वी सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात्'*[15], *'अपामञ्जली पूरयित्वा'*[16], *'स्निग्धद्रवपेशला-नामन्नविशेषाणां भिक्षाभाजनं परिपूर्णं कृत्वा।*[17] न केवल 'तृप्' एवं 'पूर्ण' के योग में ही, अन्यत्र भी कारक की अविवक्षा एवं सम्बन्ध की विवक्षा देखी जाती है जैसे 'माता को स्मरण करता है' इस अर्थ के *'मातुः स्मरति'* इस वाक्य में सम्बन्ध की

विवक्षा है। कहीं सम्बन्ध की विवक्षा की भी जाती है और नहीं भी। जहाँ नहीं की जाती, वहाँ कारक की विवक्षा रहती है, यथा—

*व्यायामक्षुण्णगात्रस्य पद्भ्यामुद्वर्तितस्य च।*
*व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिवोरगा:॥*[18]

यहाँ प्रथम दो चरणों में सम्बन्ध की विवक्षा है, जबकि अन्तिम चरण में कर्मकारक की।

प्र+हृ (मारना या चोट लगाना) के कर्म को कर्म नहीं समझा जाता, इसके विपरीत इसे अधिकरण माना जाता है, '*ऋषिप्रभावान्मयि नान्तकोऽपि प्रभुः प्रहर्तुं किमुतान्यहिंस्राः*'[19] अर्थात् ऋषियों की दैवी शक्ति के कारण यमराज भी मुझ पर प्रहार नहीं कर सकता, अन्य हिंसक पशुओं का तो कहना ही क्या; '*आर्तत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्तुमनागसि*'[20] अर्थात् तुम्हारा हथियार पीड़ितों की रक्षा के लिये है, न कि निरपराधियों के मारने के लिए। परंतु ऐसा सर्वदा नहीं होता। जब कभी किसी अंग विशेष का, जिसे चोट पहुँचाई जाये, उल्लेख हो, तब वह व्यक्ति, जिसका वह अंग हो, कर्म समझा जाता है और अंग अधिकरण, जैसे—उसने मेरी छाती पर डंडे से प्रहार किया- *स मां लगुडेन वक्षसि प्राहरत्*। जब प्र+हृ का प्रयोग 'फैंकना' अर्थ में होता है, तब जिस पर शस्त्र फैंका जाता है, उसे सम्प्रदान माना जाता है, और उसमे चतुर्थी आती है, जैसे—इन्द्रो वृत्राय वज्रं प्राहरत्' (प्राहिणोत्)।

हिन्दी में हम 'गुणों में अपने समान कन्या से तू विवाह कर' ऐसा कहते हैं, परंतु संस्कृत में *गुणैरात्मसदृशीं कन्यामुद्वहेः* ऐसा नहीं कह सकते। परंतु जब हम 'इव' का प्रयोग करते हैं, तब हम संस्कृत में भी 'गुण' को अधिकरण मानकर उसमें सप्तमी का प्रयोग करते हैं, जैसे, *समुद्र इव गाम्भीर्ये धैर्येण हिमवानिव।*[21] यहाँ हमारा वाग्व्यवहार हिन्दी के साथ एक हो जाता है। हिन्दी में 'कोई व्यक्ति किसी और व्यक्ति से किसी विषय में विशेषता रखता है', ऐसा कहने का ढंग है। परंतु संस्कृत में 'किसी कारण से' विशेषता रखता है, ऐसा कहते हैं, जैसे, *स वीणावादनेन मामतिशेते* (वह वीणा के बजाने में मुझ से बढ़ गया है)। इसी प्रकार *सा श्रियमपि रूपेणातिक्रामति* (वह सुन्दरता में लक्ष्मी से भी बढ़-चढ़ कर है; *ओजस्वितया न परिहीयते शच्याः* (तेज में वह इन्द्राणी से कम नहीं)।

जहाँ हिन्दी में यह कहा जाता है कि 'महाराज दशरथ के कौसल्या से राम पैदा हुआ', वहाँ संस्कृत में इस भाव को प्रकट करने के लिये अपना ही ढंग है, जैसे, '*श्रीदशरथात्कौसल्यायां रामो जातः*'। रामायण के सुप्रसिद्ध श्लोक में कहा गया है—

*अदृष्टदुःखो धर्मात्मा सर्वभूतप्रियंवदः।*
*मयि जातो दशरथात्कथमुञ्छेन वर्तयेत्॥* [22]

यहाँ दशरथ से पञ्चमी प्रयुक्त हुई है और सर्वनाम अस्मद् से परामृष्ट कौसल्या से सप्तमी। यह संस्कृतवाग्व्यवहारानुकूल ही है। संस्कृत में पत्नी को सन्तानोत्पत्ति की क्रिया में सदा ही अधिकरण माना जाता है। इसी बात को कहने का एक और भी ढंग है, यथा–*दशरथेन कौसल्यायां रामो जनितः।* यहाँ √जन् का णिच्सहित प्रयोग है। अब धातु सकर्मक हो गई है। इस प्रयोग में भी पत्नी (कौसल्या) अधिकरण ही है और दशरथ अनुक्त कर्ता। उसमें तृतीया हुई है। जहाँ जनन-क्रिया (उत्पन्न होता है, हुआ, होगा) शब्द से न भी कही गई हो, पर गम्यमान हो, वहाँ भी पत्नी की अधिकरणता बनी रहती है, जैसे—'*सुदक्षिणायां तनयं ययाचे*'[27] ; यहाँ मल्लिनाथादि टीकाकारों के अनुसार *सुदक्षिणायां जनिष्यमाणम्* ऐसा अर्थ है।

हिन्दी में जहाँ-जहाँ हम 'के लिए' इन शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं, वहाँ-वहाँ सब जगह संस्कृत में चतुर्थी का प्रयोग नहीं हो सकता। *अप्युपहासस्य समयोऽयम्* (क्या यह समय उपहास करने के लिए है)? पुनः *प्राणेभ्योऽपि प्रिया सीता रामस्यासीन्महात्मनः*[28] (सीता महात्मा राम के लिये प्राणों से भी अधिक प्रिय थी); '*नैष भारो मम*' (यह मेरे लिए बोझिल नहीं); तथा *किं दूरं व्यवसायिनाम्* (व्यवसायियों (उद्योगी पुरुषों) के लिए दूर क्या है); *नूतन एष पुरुषावतारो यस्य भगवान् भृगुनन्दनोऽपि न वीरः* (यह कोई नया ही पुरुष का अवतार है, जिसके लिए भगवान् परशुराम भी वीर नहीं हैं); इन सब उदाहरणों में यद्यपि हिन्दी में 'के लिए' का प्रयोग किया गया है, फिर भी 'तादर्थ्य' (एक वस्तु दूसरी वस्तु के लिए होने) का सम्बन्ध न होने से संस्कृत में हिन्दी के 'के लिए' के स्थान में चतुर्थी का प्रयोग नहीं हो सकता।

'से' के स्थान में पञ्चमी का प्रयोग हम तब तक नहीं कर सकते, जब तक अपादान (पृथक्करण) का भाव न हो। उदाहरणार्थ, 'मैं तुझे कितने समय से ढूँढ रहा हूँ' के लिए संस्कृत में वाक्य होगा *कः कालस्त्वामन्विष्यामि।*[25] जब काल अथवा वेला अवधि न होकर अवधि से व्याप्त हो, वहाँ अत्यन्त संयोग में द्वितीया होगी, यथा *कां वेलां त्वामन्विष्यामि।*[30] *वृक्षशाखास्ववलम्बन्ते यतीनां वासांसि* (मुनियों के वस्त्र वृक्षों की शाखाओं में लटक रहे हैं) इस वाक्य में स्पष्ट ही वृक्ष-शाखा अपादान कारक नहीं, किंतु वस्त्रों का अवलम्बन क्रिया द्वारा आधार होने से अधिकरण कारक ही है। अतः सप्तमी ही उचित है। 'मुझसे रामायण की कथा को समझो (जैसे) मैं (इसे) कहता हूँ '*निबोध मे कथयतः कथां रामायणीम्*', यहाँ भी नियमपूर्वक अध्ययन के न होने से, आख्याता (कहने वाला) अपादान नहीं है, इसलिए पञ्चमी का प्रयोग नहीं किया गया। इसी प्रकार *इदानीमहमागन्तुकानां श्रुत्वा पुरुषविशेषकौतूहलेनागतोऽस्मीमामुज्जयिनीम्*[21] में 'आगन्तुकानाम्' में षष्ठी हुई।

कभी-कभी चाहे अपादान का भाव स्पष्ट भी क्यों न हो, फिर भी हम

उसकी उपेक्षा कर दूसरे कारक (कर्ता, कर्म) की कल्पना करते हैं, जैसे '*स प्राणान् मुमोच* (उसने प्राण छोड़ दिये); अथवा *तं प्राणाः मुमुचुः* (उससे प्राणों ने छोड़ दिया); अथवा *स प्राणैर्मुमुचे* (वह प्राणों से छोड़ा गया)। यहाँ भाव स्पष्ट है कि पुरुष का प्राणों से वियोग है। संयोग और वियोग उभयनिष्ठ होते हैं। यह विवक्षाधीन है कि किस एक को ध्रुव (अवधिभूत) माना जाये। यदि प्राणों को ध्रुव (अवधिभूत) मानें तो अपादान अर्थ में प्राण शब्द में पञ्चमी होनी चाहिए, पर √मुच् का सकर्मक प्रयोग होने पर कर्म (जो पदार्थ छोड़ा गया) की भी आकांक्षा होती है और कर्ता (छोड़ने वाले) की भी। '*अपादानमुत्तराणि कारकाणि बाधन्ते*', इस वचन के अनुसार प्राणों की अपादानता को बाधकर कर्मत्व की विवक्षा करने पर (पुरुष में अर्थापन्न कर्तृत्व आ जाने पर) अनुक्त कर्म में द्वितीया होती है और *स प्राणान् मुमोच* यह वाक्य बनता है। यदि वियोग में पुरुष को अवधिभूत मानें, तो सकर्मक √मुच् का अकर्मकतया प्रयोग होने पर अथवा कर्मकर्ता के होने पर प्राण आदि की अपादानता बनी रहती है, जैसे, *यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् (गीता); मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यः* आदि। *मुच्यते स्वयमेव मुक्तो भवति। कस्मात्। अशुभात्।* हो सकता है कि वे दोनों प्रकार के प्रयोग (*स प्राणान्मुमोच, तं प्राणा मुमुचुः*) पहले से ही अभिप्राय-भेद से प्रयुक्त होते हों और बाद में समानार्थक होकर निर्विशेष रूप से प्रयुक्त होने लगे हों।

जो कुछ यहाँ √मुच् के विषय में कहा गया है, वहा वि-युज् (सकर्मक) के प्रयोग में अक्षरशः लागू है। '*न वियुङ्क्ते तं नियमेन मूढता, येन येन वियुज्यन्ते प्रजाः स्निग्धेन बन्धुना*'[32]; यहाँ पुरुष (तद्) और प्रजा की अपादानता को बाधकर इनकी कर्मता स्वीकार की गई है। कर्तृत्व की आकांक्षा में मूढता और बन्धु को वियोगक्रिया का कर्ता माना गया है। पर हाँ, त्यागना के कर्मकर्तृ-प्रयोग में, *सार्थाद् हीयते* इस वाक्य में, सार्थ की अपादानता अक्षत बनी रहती है। शुद्ध कर्तृ प्रयोग में 'सार्थ' की कर्तृता होती ही है—*सार्थ एनं जहाति*।

आजकल कई पण्डित निम्नस्थ वाक्यों का भाषान्तर भिन्न प्रकार से करते हैं, जैसे, छः महीने पूर्व एक भीषण भूकम्प आया, महमूद ने भारत पर एक हजार वर्ष पूर्व आक्रमण किया, तथा पिछले पक्ष में मूसलाधार वर्षा हुई। वे या तो उपर्युक्त वाक्यों का क्रमशः इस प्रकार भाषान्तर करते हैं-*इतः षण्मासान् पूर्वं बलवद् भूरकम्पत, इतो वर्षसहस्रं पूर्वं महमूदो भरतभुवमाचक्राम, इतः सप्ताहद्वयपूर्वं धारासारैरवर्षद् देवः*, अथवा-*इतः षड्भ्यो मासेभ्यः पूर्वं बलवद् भूरकम्पत, इतो वर्षसहस्रात् पूर्वं महमूदो भरतभुवमाचक्राम, इतः सप्ताहद्वयात् पूर्वं धारासारैरवर्षद् देवः*। यहाँ पहले प्रकार के भाषान्तरों में-'षण्मासान् पूर्वं', 'वर्षसहस्रं पूर्वं' और 'सप्ताहद्वयपूर्वम्', बिना सोचे-समझे रखे गये है। ये सर्वथा अनन्वित हैं। यहाँ वह समय जो घटना के होने के बाद व्यतीत हो चुका है, उसे सूचित करने के लिए

द्वितीया अथवा प्रथमा का प्रयोग कैसे किया जा सकता है? हम यहाँ पर द्वितीया का तभी प्रयोग कर सकते हैं, जब यहाँ अत्यन्त-संयोग हो। यदि कम्प, आक्रमण, और वर्षण क्रियाओं से क्रमशः छः मास, हजार वर्ष तथा दो सप्ताह, पूर्ण रूप से व्याप्त हुए हों, अर्थात् यदि क्रिया उतने समय तक होती रही हो। प्रथमा का तभी प्रयोग हो सकता है, जब इससे समता रखती हुई क्रिया साथ में हो। तिङ्वाच्य कर्ता तो यहाँ क्रम से भू, महमूद और देव हैं। वस्तुतः हम यहाँ न तो द्वितीया का प्रयोग कर सकते हैं और न प्रथमा का। दूसरे प्रकार के भाषान्तरों में *इतः षड्भ्यो मासेभ्यः पूर्वम्* इत्यादि यद्यपि व्याकरण की दृष्टि से ठीक हैं तो भी वाञ्छित अर्थ को सूचित नहीं करते। इनमें समय की विवक्षित एक अवधि की अपेक्षा दो अवधियाँ दी गई हैं, एक आज और दूसरे छः मास आदि और उस काल का कोई परिच्छेद नहीं किया गया, जो व्यतीत हो चुका है। इन वाक्यों का सरल असन्दिग्ध अर्थ तो यह है कि भूकम्प आदि घटना आज से पिछले छः मास आदि में नहीं हुई, पर उससे पहले कब हुई यह पता नहीं। निस्सन्देह वक्ता का यह अभिप्राय नहीं। अतः ये दोनों प्रकार के प्रयोग दोषयुक्त होने के कारण त्याज्य हैं। उपर्युक्त दोनों प्रकार के दूषित वाक्यों के स्थान में शिष्टसम्मत प्रकार ये हैं :

1. *अद्य षण्मासा बलवद् भुवः कम्पितायाः, अद्य सप्ताहद्वयं धारासारैर्वृष्टस्य देवस्य।*
2. *अद्य षष्ठे मासे बलवद्भूरकम्पत, अद्य वर्षसहस्रतमे वर्षे महमूदो भरतभुवमाचक्राम, अद्य चतुर्दशे दिवसे धारासारैरवर्षद् देवः।*
3. *इतः षट्सु मासेषु बलवद् भूरकम्पत, इतो वर्षसहस्रे महमूदो भरतभुवमाचक्राम, इतः सप्ताहद्वये धारासारैरवर्षद् देवः।*

प्रथम प्रकार में दिये गये वाक्यों में *षण्मासाः, वर्षसहस्रम्* और *सप्ताहद्वयम्*–ये सब अतीत हुए काल की इयत्ता बतलाते हैं। ये *अतीताः सन्ति* इत्यादि गम्यमान क्रियाओं के कर्ता होने से प्रथमान्त है। भुवः इत्यादि में षष्ठी शैषिकी है और अद्य *(अस्मादह्नः)* पञ्चमी के अर्थ को सूचित करता है। यथा, *अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः।* [29]

दूसरे प्रकार में दिये गये तीनों वाक्यों में बहुत थोड़ा ही वक्तव्य है। *अद्य षष्ठे मासे* इत्यादि में सप्तमी भावलक्षणा है, जिसमें अर्थ *षष्ठे मासे गते सति* इस प्रकार से लिया जा सकता है। तीसरे प्रकार में इतः पञ्चमी का प्रयोग *यतश्चाध्वकालनिमानं तत्र पञ्चमी* इस वार्तिक (भुवः प्रभवः 1.4.31) के अनुसार हुआ है। *षट्सु मासेषु* इत्यादि में सप्तमी का प्रयोग कालात्सप्तमी च वक्तव्या इस वार्तिक (भुवः प्रभवः 1.4.31 सूत्रान्तर्गत) के अनुसार हुआ है। इस प्रकार की रचना में शाबर-भाष्य प्रमाण है- *प्रतीयते हि गव्यादिभ्यः सास्नादिमानर्थः तस्मादितो वर्षशतेऽप्यस्यार्थस्य सम्बन्ध आसीदेव, ततः परेण ततश्च परतरेणेत्यनादिता।*

उपर्युक्त तीनों वाक्यों के अर्थ को कहने का एक और प्रकार भी हो सकता है–*इतः षड्भिर्मासैः पूर्वं भूरकम्पत, इतो वर्षसहस्रेण पूर्वं महमूदो भरतभुवमाचक्राम, इतः सप्ताहद्वयेन पूर्वं धारासारैरवर्षद् देवः।* इन वाक्यों में तृतीया का प्रयोग कार्य की पूर्वता की सीमा को सूचित करता हैं *(अवच्छेदकत्वं तृतीयाया अर्थः)*। संस्कृत व्याकरण में मासपूर्वः इत्यादि समासों की अनुमति दी गई है।[30] इसके साथ ही *मासेन पूर्वः* (महीना भर पहले का), *वर्षेण पूर्वं* आदि व्यस्त प्रयोगों को भी निर्दोष माना गया है। यदि हम *मासेन पूर्वः* (एक महीना पूर्व का) कह सकते हैं, तो क्या कारण है कि हम *इतः षड्भिर्मासैः पूर्वं भूरकम्पत* अर्थात् आज से छः महीने पूर्व पृथ्वी काँप उठी'(अक्षरार्थ–पृथ्वी काँपी, ऐसे कि कम्पन क्रिया छः महीनों की पूर्वता से विशिष्ट हुई) नहीं कह सकते? यहाँ पूर्वम् क्रियाविशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। यह रचना अभी शिष्ट–व्यवहार–समर्थनापेक्ष है। यद्यपि इसकी शुद्धता में हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है, फिर भी हम छात्रों को इस प्रकार की रचना के प्रयोग की अनुमति नहीं देते, क्योंकि हमें संस्कृत साहित्य में अभी तक ऐसा प्रयोग नहीं मिला।

'से' के अर्थ को संस्कृत–भाषान्तर में किस तरह से कहा जा सकता है, इसके विषय में कुछ संकेत हम पहले दे चुके हैं चार दिन से मेघ बरस रहा है इस साधारण सरल हिन्दी वाक्य की संस्कृत बनाने में संस्कृत के गण्यमान्य विद्वान् उपर्युक्त शुद्ध शिष्ट–सम्मत प्रकारों में से प्रथम प्रकार का आश्रय लेते हैं। वे *अद्य चत्वारो वासरा वर्षतो देवस्य* इस प्रकार भाषान्तर बनाते हैं। इस भाषान्तर में काल की प्रधानता है और क्रिया की गौणता। इसके विपरीत मूल वाक्य में क्रिया की प्रधानता है ओर काल की अपेक्षाकृत गौणता। इस गुण–प्रधान–भाव को हम पहले प्रपञ्च–पूर्वक दिखा चुके हैं। सो दिए हुए हिन्दी वाक्य का यह निर्दोष संस्कृतानुवाद नहीं कहा जा सकता।

क्रिया की प्रधानता रखते हुए अर्थात् समान वाक्य में क्रिया को कृदन्त से न कह कर तिङन्त से कहते हुये 'से' के अर्थ को किस विभक्ति से कहना चाहिए? आजकल विद्वानों के लेखों में इस विषय में विभक्ति–साङ्कर्य पाया जाता है। कोई तृतीया का प्रयोग करते हैं, तो कोई पञ्चमी का। हमारे मत में ये दोनों विभक्तियाँ यहाँ सर्वथा अनुपपन्न हैं। न यहाँ अपवर्ग है और न अपादान (विश्लेष में अवधि–भाव)। 'यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणम्' इस वार्तिक का भी विषय नहीं है, क्योंकि वहाँ भी काल मापने की अवधि में ही पञ्चमी का विधान है। चार दिन अवधि नहीं, वर्षण–क्रिया से व्याप्त हुआ है। यदि सोमवार से मेघ बरस रहा है अथवा 'बरसा' ऐसा कहें तो 'सोमवार' वर्षण–क्रिया की अवधि अवश्य है। इससे हम माप सकते हैं कि कितने दिनों तक या कितने दिनों से वर्षा हुई या हो रही है। 'चार दिन से' इत्यादि वाक्यों की संस्कृत बनाते हुए हमें काल में द्वितीया

प्रयुक्त करनी चाहिये और यह द्वितीया 'अत्यन्तसंयोग' में होगी। कुछ-एक विद्वानों का यह कहना कि अत्यन्त-संयोग के समान होने पर भी जहाँ 'तक' अर्थ है, वहाँ द्वितीया शिष्ट और इष्ट है, पर जहाँ हिन्दी में 'से' शब्द प्रयुक्त होता है, वहाँ द्वितीया शिष्ट होती हुई भी इष्ट नहीं है, कुछ सार नहीं रखता। द्वितीया का प्रयोग न केवल शास्त्रसम्मत है, व्यवहारानुकूल भी है। इसलिए 'चार दिन से मेघ बरस रहा है' इसका सर्वथा निर्दोष *अनुवाद अद्य चतुरो वासरान्वर्षति देवः* ही है। ऐसे स्थलों में द्वितीया के व्यवहार के लिए कुछ एक उद्धरण दिए जाते हैं—

1. अद्य कतिपयान्यहानि नैवागच्छति
2. ततोऽस्मिन्नेव नगर ऊर्जितमुषित्वा कथमिदानीं बहून्यहानि दीनवासं पश्यामि[31]
3. अद्य बहूनि दिनानि नावर्तते[32]

कहीं-कहीं इस रचना से भिन्न प्रकार भी देखा जाता है। एक वाक्य के स्थान में दो वाक्य प्रयुक्त किये जाते हैं। पहले वाक्य में काल का निर्देश किया जाता है और दूसरे में क्रिया का (जो उस काल को व्याप्त करती है), जैसे *कः कालस्त्वामन्विष्यामि*[33], *कः कालो विरचितानि शयनासनानि*[34], *ननु कतिपयाहमिवाद्य मद्द्वितीयः कर्णीपुत्रो विपुलामनुनेतुमभिगतः*।[35]

इस प्रकार की रचना की समाधि यह है—*यदा प्रभृति त्वामन्विष्यामि तदा प्रभृति कः कालोऽतिक्रान्तः* इतना लम्बा न कह कर वक्ता संक्षेपरुचि होने से *कः कालस्त्वामन्विष्यामि* इतना ही कहता है। बोल-चाल में यह प्रकार भी हृदयङ्गम है, पर अध्याहार की अपेक्षा होने से सर्वत्र प्रशस्त नहीं। वाकोवाक्य में शिथिलबन्ध भी दूषण नहीं माना जाता।

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# संस्कृत : पंजाबी का आदि स्रोत

थोड़े समय से पंजाब में कुछ ऐसी हवा चली है जिससे कुछ लोगों का विचार बन गया है कि पंजाबी भाषा के अध्ययन के लिए संस्कृत की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। पुरातत्त्वविभाग के एक उच्च अधिकारी ने कहा है कि पंजाबी-भाषा का विकास स्वतंत्र रूप से हुआ है। इसे समझने के लिए एवं इसका अर्थ-विश्लेषण करने के लिए संस्कृत भाषा के अध्ययन की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। यह बात कितनी अनुचित एवं अयुक्ति-संगत है यह आपाततः ही स्पष्ट है। पंजाबी भी उत्तर-भारत की अन्य आर्य-भाषाओं की तरह संस्कृत से निकली है। प्राचीन काल में संस्कृत से मिलती-जुलती एक भाषा व्यवहार में आती थी जिसे भाषा-शास्त्री प्रधान प्राकृत के नाम से पुकारते हैं। इसी प्रधान प्राकृत से मागधी और शौरसेनी आदि प्राकृतों का जन्म हुआ और उन्होंने अपभ्रंश भाषाओं को जन्म दिया। उन अपभ्रंशों में से किसी एक या अधिक से पंजाबी भाषा का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ है। इस प्रकार केवल ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से देखने पर भी यह स्पष्ट है कि संस्कृत यद्यपि साक्षात् नहीं, परम्परा से तो पंजाबी भाषा की जननी है। संस्कृत-भाषा ने पंजाबी को बहुत कुछ दिया है। पंजाबी, विशेषकर देहाती पंजाबी का शब्द-कोश क्योंकि वहीं पंजाबी का वास्तविक रूप दिखाई देता है, संस्कृत से सुतरां अनुप्राणित है। अनेकानेक शब्द या तो तत्सम है या तद्भव। शताब्दियों से उनका प्रयोग फूस की झोपड़ियों, गाँव की चौपालों एवं हरे-भरे खेतों में होता आया है। सीधे सादे देहातियों के मुख से प्रयुक्त होने वाले ये शब्द बहुत कुछ अपने मूल स्वरूप से दूर जा चुके हैं। पर फिर भी वे भाषा-शास्त्री की पैनी दृष्टि को धोखा नहीं दे सकते। भाषा की विकास-पद्धति को जानने वाला व्यक्ति उनके धुन्धले स्वरूप को देख कर भी वास्तविकता तक पहुँच ही जाता है।

यह कहना कि पंजाबी भाषा के शब्दों का अर्थ ठीक-ठीक समझने के लिए संस्कृत के आश्रय की आवश्यकता नहीं मानों मानव मस्तिष्क को धोखा देना है। संस्कृत से ही तो पंजाबी का लालन-पालन हुआ है। बहुत से तद्भव शब्दों का अर्थ

उनके संस्कृत स्वरूप जानने पर ही समझ में आता है। उदाहरणस्वरूप, रावलपिण्डी एवं उसके आसपास के प्रदेश की भाषा में ढूँढ़ने के लिए 'लोडना' शब्द प्रयोग में आता है। अब प्रश्न यह है कि 'लोडना' शब्द का अर्थ 'ढूँढ़ना' कैसे हुआ। कितना ही बड़ा पंजाबी का विद्वान् क्यों न हो वह यह नहीं बता सकता। इसका उत्तर संस्कृत ही दे सकती है। 'लोडना' संस्कृत के 'आलोडन' से निकला है। आलोडन का अर्थ है 'अवगाहन' और स्पष्ट शब्दों में डुबकी लगाना। यदि कोई चीज़ तालाब में गिर पड़े तो डुबकी लगाकर उसे ढूँढ़ा जाता है। आलोडन का अर्थ पहले तो डुबकी लगाना था, पर चूँकि डुबकी लगाना ढूँढ़ने की क्रिया का उपाय था अतः बाद में उसका अपना अर्थ ही ढूँढना हो गया अथवा आलोडन का अर्थ है, मन्थन। ढूँढ़ना क्या है, एक वस्तु को पाने के लिए बहुत सी वस्तुओं का 'मन्थन' या उठना पटकना ही तो! इसी प्रकार का दूसरा शब्द है 'कनक'। पंजाबी में 'कनक' गेहूँ को कहते हैं। लेकिन गेहूँ का यह नाम पड़ा क्यों? इस छोटे से कनक शब्द के पीछे एक बहुत बड़ा इतिहास है। यह शब्द, केवल यह शब्द, पंजाबी मानस का विश्लेषण करने के लिए पर्याप्त है। एक विलक्षण साहित्यिक एवं कलात्मक प्रवृत्ति की उमंग में आकर किसी भाग्यवान् ने यह नामकरण दिया है। 'कनक' संस्कृत में सोने को कहते हैं। गेहूँ भी कनक है—सोना है, क्योंकि एक तो उसका रंग सोने का सा है, दूसरे जिस प्रकार सोना सब धातुओं में श्रेष्ठ हुआ करता है उसी प्रकार गेहूँ भी सब प्रकार के अनाजों में श्रेष्ठ है। एक पंजाबी के लिए गेहूँ, गेहूँ नहीं है 'कनक' है, सोना है। क्या असंस्कृतज्ञ व्यक्ति को 'कनक' का यह हृदयस्पर्शी इतिहास समझ में आ सकता है? कनक शब्द संस्कृत के कणक (कण + क) से उद्‌भूत भी माना जा सकता है। इसी प्रकार का एक और शब्द है 'रचना'। देहातों में किसान प्रायः इस शब्द का प्रयोग किया करते हैं। आकाश में बादल घिर-घिर आते हैं। थोड़ी-थोड़ी बूंदा-बांदी होने लगती है और दो-एक दिन होती रहती है किसान का मन बल्लियों उछलने लगता है। वह खुशी से झूम उठता है और अपने साथियों से कहता है-*अज्ज रचन वाला मींह पैंदा पया वे। हुन खेती खूब होयेगी।* किसान की रचना शब्द भाषा-शास्त्री के मन में कुछ खलबली मचा देता है। रचना का अर्थ सृष्टि है। ऐसा पानी पड़ रहा है जो रच जायगा, जिससे सृष्टि—सस्य सृष्टि उत्पन्न होगी। किञ्च, 'रच' धातु का अर्थ पाणिनीय धातु-पाठ में गुणान्तराधान दिया है। यह अर्थ भी संगत प्रतीत होता है। पृथ्वी में पानी के रचने का अर्थ है गुणान्तर का—मृदुता का, आर्द्रता का आधान, जिससे खूब अनाज पैदा होता है।

पंजाबी-भाषा में न केवल तद्भव शब्दों की ही भरमार है, अपितु तत्सम शब्द भी बहुत पाए जाते हैं। अभी कुछ दिन हुए मैं एक देहाती से बात कर रहा था। बातचीत के सिलसिले में उसने कहा—*मेरे भाने तां तूं गाया ई नयीं।* उसके इस

वाक्य में हमें भान शब्द मिलता है। भान शब्द शुद्ध संस्कृत का है। केवल इतना ही नहीं भान शब्द संस्कृत शब्द की तरह सप्तम्यन्त रूप में पाया जाता है। भाषा के इतने परिवर्तनों के साथ भी *भाने* शब्द अपने अक्षतरूप में पंजाबी में पहुँच गया है, यह बहुत विचित्र सी बात है। इसी तरह का एक और शब्द है। हमारे गाँव के ब्राह्मण घरानों में विशेषकर और सामान्यतया दूसरे घरों में भी एक शब्द ऐसा प्रयोग में आता है जो अपने अक्षुण्ण संस्कृतरूप में विद्यमान है। वह है 'उल्कापाती'। जो बच्चा बहुत उपद्रव करे उसके लिए यह प्रयोग किया जाता है, *न जाने साडे घर ए उल्का-पाती किस तरह जम्म गया।* उल्कापाती संस्कृत-शब्द है और उसका अर्थ है, उल्का गिराने वाला। जो उल्का गिरा देता है, वह कितना उपद्रवी होगा। इसीलिये उल्कापाती का अर्थ पंजाबी में उपद्रवी हो गया।

पंजाबी में समय के लिये वेला शब्द प्रयोग में आता है। यदि कोई व्यक्ति हमें घूमने चलने के लिये कहता है तो हम अपनी असमर्थता इस प्रकार प्रकट करते हैं-''बई, ऐस वेले मैंनू कन्म वे, ठहर के चल्लांगे। या ए वेला नहीं जान दा।'' इन दोनों वाक्यों में 'वेला' शब्द शुद्ध संस्कृत का है। हिंदी में भी वेला में पथ भूल न जाना पथिक कहीं कहा गया है।' पर यह बात ध्यान देने योग्य है कि समय अर्थ में 'वेला' शब्द का प्रयोग केवल साहित्यिक हिंदी में ही होता हैं देहाती हिंदी में तो 'बख़त' (वक्त) शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। इससे पता चलता है कि संस्कृत का हम पर कितना प्रभाव है। ऐसे बहुत से प्रयोग और भी मिलते हैं, जि में 'वेला' शब्द पाया जाता है। जैसे—सवेला' जिसका अर्थ है 'जल्दी, निश्चित समय से पूर्व 'अजी ठहर के चल्लांगे, अजे सुवेला है' सुवेला का अर्थ है बढ़िया समय। निश्चित समय से कुछ पहिले का समय ही तो बढ़िया होता है। देर हो जाने पर तो वही कुवेला हो जाता है। इसलिये सुवेला का अर्थ निश्चित समय से पूर्व हो गया। अस्तु।

एक ऐसा ही और शब्द है जो अपने मूलस्वरूपमें यथावत् विद्यमान है वह है 'गाढ़', घरों में माताए कई बार बच्चों से कहा करती हैं- 'जा काका छेती रासन ले आ, फेर गाढ़ पै जायगा', इस वाक्य में गाढ़ शब्द का प्रयोग है। अब प्रश्न यह है कि इस 'गाढ़' का भीड़ अर्थ कैसे हुआ। यह ज्ञान संस्कृत से ही हो सकता है। संस्कृत में गाढ़ शब्द का अर्थ है घना। इस घने के अर्थ में आज भी हिंदी और पंजाबी में प्रयोग होता है 'दूध गाढ़ा है।' प्रकृत में घनापन तभी आ सकता है यदि बहुत से व्यक्ति एक स्थान पर एकत्रित हो जाएं, और बहुत से व्यक्तियों का एक स्थान पर एकत्रित होना ही तो भीड़ होती है। इसलिए गाढ़ का अर्थ ही भीड़ हो गया। इसी प्रकार का एक ऐसा शब्द जिसका संस्कृत रूप अक्षुण्ण है 'संघना' है। पंजाबी घरों में लड़कियाँ आम अपने पिता की वा भाई की स्वेटर बुना करती हैं। खाली बैठना तो वे जानती ही नहीं। ज्यों ही सर्दी शुरू हुई कि उनकी सलाइयों

पर ऊन चढ़ी। तरह-तरह के डिज़ाइन तैयार कर वे अपना शौक पूरा करती हैं। डिज़ाइनों के मामले में वैसे तो वे अपनी इच्छा से चलती हैं पर फिर भी कभी कभी भाई से पूछ ही बैठती हैं', 'भापा संघनी बुनती पसन्द करेंगा या बिरली।' उन के संघनी शब्द को देखिये और बिरली शब्द को। दोनों ही शुद्ध संस्कृत शब्द हैं। 'संघन' शब्द में सम्+घन शब्द हैं। 'घन' शब्द का अर्थ है, 'गाढ़ा' संघन का अर्थ है, 'बहुत गाढ़ा।' संघनी बुनती हुई बहुत गाढ़ी बुनती। कुछ लोग 'संघन' को संहत' शब्द से बनाते हैं। संहत का अर्थ है खुब मिली जुली, घनी। इस व्युत्पत्ति में 'ह' को 'घ' करना होगा और 'त' को 'न'। यह कुछ क्लिष्ट कल्पना सी मालूम देती है। अब दूसरा शब्द लीजिये 'बिरली'। यह भी शुद्ध संस्कृत है। इसका अर्थ है छेदों वाली बुनती; ढीली बुनती। हिंदी में भी विरला या बिरला शब्द का प्रयोग होता है 'कोई बिरला ही यह काम कर सकता है।' यहां 'बिरला' शब्द पंजाबी बिरला शब्द के अर्थ से कुछ भिन्न मालूम होता है, पर ऐसी बात नहीं। दोनों के अर्थों में अजीब सा मेल है। बुनती को बिरली कहा जाता है, इसलिये कि उसमें प्रत्येक धागा दूसरे से कुछ दूरी पर होता है। ऐसी बुनती में धागों का सटाव नहीं होता। ठीक इसी प्रकार आदमी को भी 'बिरला' कहा जाता है, क्योंकि उसका समाज के दूसरे प्राणियों से मेल नहीं होता, वह उन से दूर होता है कुछ ऊँचाई पर। उसे दूसरे व्यक्तियों के साथ नहीं मिलाया जा सकता। वह बिरला है। शुद्ध संस्कृत के ऐसे रूपों की जो अपने अविक्षत रूप में पंजाबी भाषा की श्रीवृद्धि कर रहे हैं सूची में एक और महत्व पूर्ण शब्द का समावेश आवश्यक है, और वह है 'भाव' शब्द। आप दुकान पर सौदा लेने जाते हैं। और दुकानदार से पूछते हैं-'कयों भाइया! केले की भाव दित्ते ने' अर्थात् 'भाई केले क्या भाव दिये हैं।' आपने यहां भाव शब्द का प्रयोग किया। यह स्पष्ट ही है कि 'भाव' शब्द कीमत के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। प्रश्न यह है कि 'भाव' का अर्थ कीमत कैसे हुआ। कोई भी व्यक्ति जो संस्कृत नहीं जानता, शायद ही इसे बता सकेगा। 'भाव' शब्द का संस्कृत में अर्थ है 'अभिप्राय'। श्लोक की टीका करने के बाद टीकाकार लिखते हैं 'अयं भावः'। ग्राहक दुकान पर जाकर दुकानदार से पूछता है, क्या भाव है? अर्थात् क्या अभिप्राय है, कितने में बेचोगे? दुकानदार ग्राहक को अपना अभिप्राय समझा देता है रुपये पैसे में। क्योंकि वह अपना अभिप्राय मूल्य के रूप में बताता है। इसलिये भाव का अपना अर्थ ही मूल्य हो जाता है। इस भाव शब्द का ही एक और तरह का प्रयोग भी पंजाबी में दृष्टिगोचर होता है, वह भी बहुत रोचक है। कोई व्यक्ति जीवन में बहुत सफलता प्राप्त कर लेता है, पर रिश्तेदारों से बनाकर नहीं रखता। अगर उसके रिश्तेदारों के पास जाकर कोई कहने लगे 'अजी हुन तुसां नू की परवा ए रामू अफ़सर बन ही गया ए।' तो रिश्तेदार कहते हैं, 'बई सानू की, भाव भाड़ा ए। बण गया ए ते अपने वास्ते।' यहां भाव शब्द मूल्य अर्थ में नहीं

प्रयुक्त हुआ अपितु वही अभिप्राय अर्थ में ही। असंस्कृतज्ञ व्यक्ति को दोनों भाव शब्दों में अर्थ भेद समझ में नहीं आ सकता। संस्कृत जानने वाला तो मूल्यवाची भाव शब्द में भी आदिम अभिप्राय अर्थ क्रो भांप लेता है और इस भाव शब्द में भी। 'भाव भाड़ा नहीं' का अर्थ है 'हमें क्या प्रयोजन, अर्थात् वह अफसर है तो हुआ करे हमारा क्या प्रयोजन सिद्ध करेगा। इसी भाव शब्द का प्रयोग 'भावड़ा' शब्द में भी देखा जाता है। पंजाब में जैनियों को 'भावड़ा' कहते हैं। वह इसलिये कि उनका भाव, विचार बड़ा होता है, वे 'भाव बड़ा' हैं। वकार के दुर्बल अक्षर होने के कारण लोप हो जाने से 'भावड़ा' बन जाता है। एक और शब्द है 'पीडा'। यदि कोई ग्राहक दुकान पर जाकर छुहारे देखे और उसे वे पसन्द न आयें, तो वह कहता है, 'पोले छुहारे नंहीं चाहिये नें पीडे पीडे दिखा।' पीडे पीडे का अर्थ है कड़े-कड़े, कठिन (solid) ऐसे छुहारे जिनमें बोदापन न हो। यहां यह बात बड़ी रोचक है कि पीडा शब्द शुद्ध संस्कृत का रूप ही केवल नहीं, अपितु संस्कृत के पीड के अर्थ एवं इस पीडा के अर्थ में भी बहुत सा सामजस्य है। संस्कृत के पीड का अर्थ है 'दबाना', जैसे 'कण्ठं पीडयन्' (मृच्छकटिक, अङ्क 8) और 'लभते सिकतासु तैलमपि पीडयन्) (भर्तृहरि) जो चीज़ दबाई जाती है वह पिचक जाती है, उसमें खुलापन या बोदापन नहीं रहता, किन्त्र कड़ापन आ जाता है। इसी से पीडा का अर्थ हो जाता है कड़ा। अपिच पंजाबी व्यवहार आता है 'रस पी़डना' यहां पीडने का अर्थ स्पष्ट ही दबाना है। गन्ने को दबाकर रस निकाला जाता है, अन्यथा यह व्यवहार ही नहीं संगत होता। (गन्ने को) पीडने पर जो द्रव पदार्थ निकलता है उसे रस कहते हैं। रस का पीडना कैसा?

रस पीडना इस व्यवहार को देख महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि के ये ऐतिहासिक शब्द स्मरण हो आते हैं—

'कश्चित्कश्चित् तन्तुवायमाह 'अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' इति। स पश्यति यदि शाटको न वातव्यः। वातव्यश्चेन्न शाटकः। शाटको वातव्यश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम्। भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञाऽभिप्रेता। स मन्ये वातव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद् भवति (1.17)। महाभाष्यकार के शाटक वयन की तरह 'रस पीडना' भी भविष्यदर्थगति का उज्ज्वल उदाहरण है।

पंजाबी में स्मृति के लिये चेता शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं। कोई व्यक्ति किसी को उसका काम पूरा कर देने का आश्वासन देता है। वह व्यक्ति कुछ दिनों के उपरांत जब पूछता है 'क्यों जी कम्म कीता।" तो वह खिसिया कर जवाब देता है 'बस जी की दस्सां चेता ई भुल्ल गया'। अर्थात् क्या बताऊँ याद ही भूल गया। चेता शब्द, जैसा कि स्पष्ट ही है, संस्कृत का चेतः शब्द है। इसका अर्थ है चित्त। याद क्या है किसी चीज का चित्त में रहना ही तो। चित्तवाची चेतः शब्द पहले तो

चित्त में रखना इस अर्थ का वाचक हुआ पर चूंकि 'चित्त में रखना' ही याद होता है इसलिये बाद में इसका अपना अर्थ ही याद हो गया।

एक ओर शब्द लीजिये पंजाबी में गांव के लिये पिंड शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं। पिंड शब्द शुद्ध संस्कृत का शब्द है। इसका अर्थ है समूह। गांव और होता ही क्या है समूह ही तो। झोपड़ियों का समूह, किसानों का समूह उनके पशुओं का समूह। इसी लिये गांव के लिये पिंड शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। समूहवाची पिंड शब्द का अर्थ ही विकसित होकर गांव इस अर्थ का वाचक हो गया है। इसमें स्वयं ग्राम शब्द प्रमाण है। ग्राम शब्द के अर्थ का विकास भी पिंड की शैली पर ही हुआ है। ग्राम का असली अर्थ है समूह । इस अर्थ में संस्कृत में अनेकानेक प्रयोग देखे जाते हैं—

*प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः।*
*भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नमवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात्।।*

ग्राम शब्द का अर्थ समूह है इसमें महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि के वचन भी प्रमाण हैं—'ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः। अस्ति खल्वपि सोपाधिके ससीमके सस्थण्डिके वर्तते। अस्ति खल्वपि समूहे वर्तते। भूतग्रामः, इन्द्रियग्रामः। अस्ति खल्वपि आवसथे वर्तते, एकशालो ग्रामः'। ग्राम वास्तव में है क्या एक स्थान पर बहुत से प्राणियों का एवंच उनके मकानों का समूह ही तो! यहां सामान्य समूह के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने वाला ग्राम शब्द समूह विशेष में प्रयुक्त होने लगा है। अस्तु।

पिंड शब्द का प्रयोग पंजाबी भाषा में शरीर के लिये भी किया जाता है। यदि कोई नन्हा मुन्ना खेल कूद में दिलचस्पी न दिखाये और निढाल सा एक ओर पड़ा रहे तो माताएं चिन्तित हो उठती हैं। वे तुरंत उसका शरीर टटोलने लगती हैं, और कह उठती हैं—'हा! तेरा पिंडा ते भखदा पया वे। मैं वी कहवां आज काका सुस्त सुस्त क्यों वे।' इस वाक्य में पिंडा शब्द का प्रयोग है और उसका अर्थ है शरीर। इस शरीर अर्थ का विकास पूर्वोक्त रीति से आदिम अर्थ समूह से ही हुआ है। शरीर क्या है बहुत सी इंद्रियों का समूह ही तो! यह बात बहुत रोचक है कि पिंड शब्द का प्रयोग संस्कृत भाषा में भी शरीर अर्थ में होता रहा है। जैसे 'एकांतविध्वंसिषु मद्विधेषु पिण्डेष्वनास्था खलु भौतिकेषु' (रघुवंश 2.57)। किंच, हिन्दी में भी प्रयोग आता है वह मेरा पिंड नहीं छोड़ता। कई विद्वानों का विचार है कि पिंड छोड़ना, शब्द का सम्बन्ध पिंडदानादि क्रिया से है जिस तरह मृतव्यक्तियों का पिंड छोड़कर उसने विदा ले ली जाती है उस तरह जब किसी से छुटकारा मिल जाता है वहां यह प्रयोग किया जाता है। पंजाबी में एक शब्द पण्ड पाया जाता है। यह भी इस पिंड शब्द का ही रूपांतर है। सब कुछ वही है। केवल आदिम इकार का लोप हुआ है। भाषा में ऐसे बहुत से उदाहरण देखे जाते

हैं जिनमें आदिम व्यंजनगत स्वरों का लोप हो जाता है। यहां भी वैसे ही हुआ है। पंड शब्द का अर्थ है गांठ, बोझा। यहां भी समूह अर्थ स्पष्ट ही है। जब बहुत से पदार्थ किसी कपड़े आदि में बांध दिये जाते हैं तब–पंड' शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। जैसे-

'एन्हां सारी चीजां दी पंड बन्ह लवो' अर्थात् इन सब चीजों की गठरी बांध लो।

पंजाबी में नरम नरम चीज़ के लिये 'कूला' शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। पंजाब के शहरों की गलियों में सरसों का साग बेचने वाली देहातिनें अक्सर आवाज़ लगाया करती हैं 'लै लौ सरों दा साग कूलियां गन्दलां' कूलियां गन्दलां से उन का तात्पर्य होता है नरम–नरम डण्ठल। एक और तरह का प्रयोग भी देखा जाता है। जिस लड़के के दाढ़ी मूंछ आदि न आई हो उसके लिये व्यवहार होता है 'ए मुंडा बड़ा कूला ए' अर्थात् यह बालक बहुत कोमल है। अब प्रश्न यह है कि कूला का अर्थ नरम या मृदु कैसे हुआ। कूला शब्द संस्कृत का शुद्ध कूल शब्द है। केवल उच्चारण विचित्रता के कारण इसका अन्तिम अकार दीर्घ हो गया है। कूल का अर्थ है किनारा, नदी का तीर। जिस प्रकार तीर पर नदी के समीप होने के कारण कुछ आर्द्रता सी रहती हैं कुछ हरियाली सी छाई रहती है, वनस्पतियों में एक प्रकार का नवजीवन सा पाया जाता है, उसी प्रकार जब सरसों के डण्ठल में आर्द्रता रहती है या हरापन विद्यमान रहता है तब प्रयोग होता है 'गन्दलां कूलियां ने'। जिस प्रकार तटस्थित फूलपत्तियों में नवजीवन सा पाया जाता है, एक उभार दिखाई पड़ता है उसी प्रकार का उभार जब किसी तरुण वयस्क में देखा जाता है तब कहते हैं-'ए मुंडा बड़ा कूला ए'। दोनों ही उदाहरणों में कूला शब्द का प्रयोग लक्षणया किया जाता है। जिस प्रकार 'गंगायां घोषः' में गंगा का अर्थ प्रवाह न होकर तीर है ठीक उसी प्रकार 'कूलियां गन्दलां' में कूला शब्द का अर्थ तीर न होकर कोमल है।

पंजाबी में, रेत, मिट्टी आदि के कणों को किरक कहते हैं। जैसे 'आटा तां जी आप पिसवाना चाहिदा वे। बाजार दे आटे च ते किरक हुन्दी ए'। अर्थात् आटा अपने आप पिसवाना चाहिये। बाजार के आटे में रेत मिट्टी आदि के कण रहते हैं। किरक शब्द, जैसा कि तनिक से ध्यान देने से ही स्पष्ट हो जायगा संस्कृत का 'करका' शब्द ही है। किरक में केवल आदिम इकार की योजना ही और हुई है, शेष सब तदवस्थ रहा है। शब्दों के आदि में स्वरों के अनियमित प्रादुर्भाव (sporadic occurrance) के बहुत से उदाहरण मिलते हैं। जैसे 'दिशा करना' 'ओन्हें तांजी मेरी बड़ी बुरी दिशा कीती। मैं काहनूं ओहदे कोल जाना सी' अर्थात् उसने मेरे साथ बहुत बुरा सलूक किया, मैं क्यों उस के पास गया।' उपरि निर्दिष्ट वाक्य में दिशा शब्द का प्रयोग है, और यह और कोई नहीं हमारा पुराना परिचित

दशा शब्द ही है। किरक शब्द की तरह इसके आदि में भी इकार ने अपना आसन जमा लिया है। अस्तु।

करका शब्द जिससे कि किरक शब्द बना है का अर्थ ओले हैं। अमरकोष में करका का अर्थ किया है वर्षोपल—'वर्षोपलस्तु करका।' अब प्रश्न यह है कि ओलों का वाचक यह करका शब्द किस प्रकर कालान्तर में मिट्टी या रेत के सूक्ष्म कणों के लिये प्रयुक्त होने लगा। मानव मन की महिमा बड़ी विचित्र है। शब्दों के अर्थों के विकास का आधार करने वाले के लिये मानव-मन का अध्ययन सुतराम् आवश्यक है। मानवमन की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि उस में साम्य का सिद्धांत (Law of analogy) हर समय काम करता रहता है। हम मिट्टी या रेत के कण को करका इसलिये कहते हैं कि उसमें करका का ओलों का सादृश्य पाया जाता है। जब ओला जमीन पर गिरता है तो कुछ आवाज़ आता है कच् कच्। इसी प्रकार जब मिट्टी या रेत का कण ग्रास चबाते चबाते हमारे मुंह में आ जाता है तो कच् कच् का शब्द होता है। ऐसा मालूम होता है मानों ओला हमारे मुंह में आ गया हो। इसी लिये मिट्टी के कण को करका या किरक का नाम दे दिया गया है। किञ्च, भाषा में प्रयोग देखा जाता है कूड़ा किरकिट। यह किरकिट शब्द भी, हमारा विचार है 'करका' शब्द से ही बना है और इसमें पूर्ववत् अर्थ है धूल धक्कड़। जब हम कहते हैं कमरे में बहुत कूड़ा किरकिट जमा है तो हमारा तात्पर्य होता है कि कमरे में बहुत मिट्टी के सूक्ष्म कण हैं। अब प्रश्न यह है कि 'किरकिट' में टकार कहां से? इसके उत्तर में यही कहा जा सकता है कि सम्भवतः कूड़ा शब्द के सान्निध्य से जो कि कूट शब्द से बना है, किरकिट में टकारोत्पत्ति हुई है। अस्तु यह विषय अत्यन्त विवादास्पद है। इस के बारे में यहां किसी निर्णय पर पहुँचना न तो उचित ही है, और न सम्भव ही।

पंजाबी में तरसने के लिय प्रयोग किया जाता है 'तरले लैना'। जैसे 'कयों वई कुछ खाया कर तरले क्यों लैन्दा रहना वे' अर्थात् भाई कुछ खाया पिया करो क्यों तरसते रहते हो। अब तरले लैना में तरल शब्द है। तरल के दो अर्थ कोषकारों ने दिये हैं। एक तो चञ्चल और दूसरा द्रव। दोनों अर्थों में साहित्य में प्रयोग देखे जाते हैं। जैसे 'तारापतिस्तरलविद्युदिवाभ्रवृन्दम् (रघुवंश 13.78) और 'भोजनान्ते तक्ररूपं तरलं दधि पथ्यम्' ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि तरल शब्द के चञ्चल एवं द्रव इन दोनों अर्थों में से द्रव का योग 'तरले लैना' में उपयुक्ततर है। तरले लैना का अर्थ है द्रव अर्थात् पानी (liquid) मुंह में लेना या यूं कहिये पानी मुंह में भर आना, पर उसका उसे पा न सकना हो तो तरसना है। तरसना क्या है तृष्णा ही तो है। किसी चीज़ को कोई पाना चाहता है, उसे पाने के लिये उसके मुंह में पानी भर भर आता है, वह तरल-तरल हुआ फिरता है। तरल शब्द का अर्थ पहिले द्रव

या पानी था पर पानी चूंकि तृष्णा या तरसने का सूचक होता है इसलिये बाद में इसका अपना अर्थ ही तरसना हो जाता है।

एक और रोचक शब्द लीजिये। पंजाब में ब्राह्मण गृहस्थ परिवारों के यहां रोटी मांगने जाते हैं। उन्हें जो रोटी दी जाती है उसे 'हन्दा' कहते हैं। अब प्रश्न यह है कि हन्दा का अर्थ रोटी कैसे हो गया और ब्राह्मणों को दी जाने वाली रोटी को को ही क्यों हन्दा कहा जाने लगा और दूसरी रोटी को क्यों नहीं। इस प्रश्न का समाधान स्वतः ही हो जाता है, जब हम हन्दा शब्द का निपुण निरीक्षण करते हैं। ध्यान से देखने पर हमें हन्दा शब्द में संस्कृत का हन्त शब्द मिलता हैं हन्त के तकार को सघोष (aspirate) ह के सान्निध्य से सघोष 'द' में बदल दिया गया है। शेष सब तदवस्थ है। हन्त शब्द संस्कृत में विस्मयादि अनेक अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है जैसे—'हन्त लब्धं मया स्वास्थ्यम्' (शाकुन्तल चतुर्थांक)। दुःख अर्थ में भी इसका प्रयोग देखा जाता है। 'हन्त! धिङ् मामधन्यम् (उत्तररामचरित 1.43)। अपने आगमन की सूचना के लिये भी इस का प्रयोग किया जाता है। जैसे 'हन्त भोः एषो ऽहं कौत्सः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रो द्वारि समुपस्थितः।' प्रकृत में आगमनादि सूचक हन्त शब्द है जिसका रूपान्तर हन्दा बना है। प्राचीन काल में जब ब्राह्मण भिक्षा के लिये जाया करते थे तो अपने आगमन की घोषणा हन्त शब्द से किया करते थे, स्मृतियों का यह विधान भी है कि किसी के घर जाकर अपने आगमन की सूचना किसी न किसी प्रकार देनी चाहिये। अब अर्थ विकास की प्रक्रिया देखिये। 'हन्त भोः' कह कर भिक्षार्थी ब्राह्मण अपने आगमन की सूचना दिया करते थे। क्योंकि वह सूचना भिक्षा, जो कि पंजाब में गेहूं के प्रधान अन्न होने के कारण रोटी के रूप में दी जाती रही होगी, के लिये थी इसलिये उस सूचना के प्रतिपादक शब्दों का अपना अर्थ ही रोटी हो गया। रोटी वाचक हन्दा शब्द का अर्थ विकास इस शैली पर हुआ है। इसमें स्वयं संस्कृत हन्तकार शब्द प्रमाण हैं। हन्तकार शब्द का अर्थ है अतिथि को दिया जाने वाला भोजन। इस अर्थ में साहित्य में प्रयोग देखे जाते हैं। '*निवीती हन्तकारेण मनुष्यांस्तर्पयेदथ*'। हन्तकार का यौगिक अर्थ है 'हन्त करोतीति हन्तकारः' चूंकि हन्त करने वाले को भोजन मिलता था इसलिये उसका अर्थ भोजन हो गया। हन्तकार शब्द का अर्थ भोजन ठीक उसी प्रक्रिया पर हुआ है जिस पर हमने हन्दा शब्द का अर्थ रोटी सिद्ध किया है।

एक और रोचक शब्द जिसका अर्थ विकास कुछ इसी शैली पर हुआ है 'भूरना' है अभी कुछ दिन हुए इन पंक्तियों के लेखक ने काशी में श्री विश्वनाथ मन्दिर के पास से गुजरती हुई एक पंजाबी स्त्री, जिसे कि भिखारियों ने परेशान कर रखा था के वचन सुने 'एंन्हा मंगतयां ने वी की तंग कीतां या वे। पहले एन्हां नुं भूर वंडो फेर कुछ होवेगा। घरो पैहे दी पंड बन्ह के ल्याये हां ना।' स्त्री के इस वाक्य में भूर वंडना शब्द का प्रयोग है। भूर शब्द जैसा कि प्रत्यक्ष दिखाई दे रहा

है संस्कृत का भूरि शब्द है। भूरि का अर्थ है बहुत। भूर शब्द में भूरि के अन्तिम इकार का लोप हो गया है। प्रकृत में 'भूर वंडना' का अर्थ है बहुत बांटना। भूर शब्द का एक और तरह का प्रयोग भी आता है और वह बहुत चमत्कार पूर्ण है। पंजाबी में प्रयोग आता है 'जी खीर ते जरा इलायची पीस के भूर दयो' अर्थात् खीर पर थोड़ी सी इलायची पीस कर डाल दो। अब शंका यह उत्पन्न होती है कि यदि भूरना शब्द भूरि शब्द ही है तो प्रकृत में इसका अर्थ संगत नहीं होता। भूरि शब्द का अर्थ होता है बहुत। 'खीर ते इलायची पीस के भूर दयो' यह सुनने पर इलायची डाल दो यह उचित नहीं लगता। खीर पर इलायची बहुत नहीं छोड़ी जाती। केवल सुंदर लगने के लिये तनिक सी छोड़ दी जाती है। इस शंका का समाधान यह है कि इलायची कम नहीं अधिक ही पड़ती है। वह इस तरह कि खीर की प्लेट में पिसी इलायची सम मात्रा में चारों और डाल दी जाती है। इलायची वास्तव में तो कम ही होती है पर चारों और समान रूप से बिखेर दिये जाने पर अधिक मालूम होने लगती है। इसीलिये व्यवहार होता है 'इलायची भूर दी।' इस अर्थ में भूरना शब्द का प्रयोग न केवल पंजाबी में ही अपितु हिन्दी में भी पाया जाता है। हिन्दी में 'भुरभुराना' शब्द प्रयोग में आता है। यहां भी भूरि भूरि शब्द स्पष्ट ही है। किंच पंजाबी में जब हल्की सी बूंदाबांदी हो रही हो तो कहते हैं 'भूर पै रही ए' अर्थात् फुहार पड़ रही है। यद्यपि पानी कम पड़ रहा है तो भी कण तो भूरि हैं इसलिये 'भूर पै रही है' यह प्रयोग संगत ही है।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि शतशः संस्कृत शब्द अब भी अपने अक्षुण्ण रूप में पंजाबी भाषा रूपी बृहती अटवी में स्वच्छन्द विचर रहे हैं। ये शब्द अपना विशेष महत्व रखते हैं और अतीत की धुंधली गाथा सुनाते हैं।।

पंजाबी भाषा के कुछ शब्द ऐसे हैं जो अपनी मूल प्रकृति से इतनी दूर चले गए हैं कि उनका स्वरूप पहिचानना कठिन हो गया है। किंतु उनके मूल संस्कृत स्वरूप को पहिचाने बिना उनका अर्थ भी तो स्पष्ट नहीं होता। बहुत से शब्द ऐसे हैं जिनका आकार-प्रकार कुछ इस प्रकार परिवर्तित हुआ है कि वे दूसरे शब्दों से एकरूप हो गए हैं। जो व्यक्ति संस्कृत नहीं जानता वह दोनों को मिलाने की भयङ्कर भूल कर सकता है। कुछेक उदाहरण नीचे उपस्थित किए जाते हैं जिन्हें कि इन पंक्तियों के लेखक ने बहुत दिनों की खोज के बाद संग्रह किया है। किस-किस तरह से एक-एक शब्द खोजा गया उसका छोटा सा वृत्तान्त भी साथ में दे दिया गया है जिससे कि ज्ञान-वृद्धि के साथ-साथ पाठकों का मनोरञ्जन भी हो सके।

कुछ महीनों की बात है कि मैं होशिआरपुर जिले के अंतर्गत अपने गाँव अहियापुर से दूसरे गाँव किसी काम से जा रहा था। वह गांव मेरे गाँव से पांच मील उत्तर की ओर था। मैं दो-तीन मील गया ही था कि एक बहुत बड़ा आम

का बाग आया। उसे पार करके जाना था। पार करने पर मैं रास्ता भूल गया। पीछे से एक जाट आ रहा था। उसने पूछने पर बताया—'*आ सामने वाला पैहा जांदा ए। मैं वी ओदर ई चल्ला वां।*' यह कह कर देहाती मेरे साथ हो लिया। रास्ता काटने के लिए वह बातें करने लगा पर मेरा ध्यान उसके 'पैहा' शब्द ने खींच लिया था। कुछ देर सोचने के बाद मैं इसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा कि 'पैहा' शब्द 'पन्थाः' शब्द से बना है। 'न्थ' के दन्त्य भाग को हटा कर केवल 'ह' को रख लिया गया। एवञ्च मकार को हटा कर संयुक्ताक्षरों को बोलने की कठिनाई दूर की गई और संयोगे गुरुत्व की हानि को 'ऐ' की मात्रा लगा कर दूर कर दिया गया। इस प्रकार 'पन्थाः' शब्द से 'पैहा' बन गया। पन्थाः शब्द का अर्थ है मार्ग, पर 'पैहा' शब्द के अर्थ में मूल शब्द के अर्थ की अपेक्षा कुछ संकोच है। उसका अर्थ है पगडंडी। अस्तु। वह जाट लड़का जो मेरे साथ बात करता जा रहा था, काफी जवान था। पर इस अवस्था में भी उसके बाल काफी सफेद हो गए थे। 'इसका इलाज क्यों नहीं करते' मेरे ऐसा कहने पर उसने कहा—*इलाज तां कीता ए जी। पहिलां तां पूरा सिर ई कक्का हो गया सी* उसका यह कक्का शब्द भी मेरे कानों में गूञ्जने लगा। कक्का शब्द जैसा कि थोड़े से विचार से ही स्पष्ट हो जायगा, संस्कृत कर्क शब्द से निकला है। कर्क शब्द का अर्थ है श्वेत। जाट के उस कक्का शब्द से झट मुझे काशिका का *कर्कोऽश्वः* उदाहरण स्मरण हो आया और उससे मुझे कितना आनन्द हुआ—मैं नहीं कह सकता।

पिछले दिनों मैं अपने प्रिय मित्र श्री हरिपाल जी शास्त्री की बरात में भाग लेने लुधियाने के पास उनके गाँव में गया था। वधूगृह की ओर बरात के प्रस्थान के समय का स्मरण मुझे ठीक से न था। मैंने ठीक जानकारी के लिये श्री हरिपाल जी की माता जी से पूछा। उन्होंने कहा—'*जन्न दो बजे दोपहर नूं जावेगी।*' माता जी के इस 'जन्न' शब्द से मुझे बहुत कुतूहल हुआ, क्योंकि मैने वरयात्रा के लिये केवल बरात शब्द ही सुन रखा था। कुछ सोचने पर मुझे स्मरण हो आया कि संस्कृत में एक 'जन्या' शब्द है जिस का यह 'जन्न' अपभ्रंश है। जन्न में समीकरण (Law of Assimilation) का सिद्धांत लगा है। पूर्ववर्ती नकार ने यकार को भी अपना रूप दे दिया है। जालंधर और होशियारपुर की बोली में यह सिद्धांत नहीं लगता दिखाई देता। वहाँ 'जंज' शब्द प्रयोग में आता है। इस जंज में 'य' को 'ज' होने के सिवाय और कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ। किञ्च, दुआबे की भाषा में बरात के लिये 'जनेत' शब्द प्रयुक्त होता है जो जनयात्रा से बना है। संस्कृत जनयात्रा का अर्थ है जनसमूह, लोगों का एक दल। 'जनयात्रा' शब्द लोगों के एक सामान्य दल में प्रवृत्त न हो कर एक ऐसे विशेष दल में प्रवृत्त होने लगा जो वर को ब्याहने के लिये जाता है। इसलिये जनयात्रा का अर्थ वरयात्रा हो गया। यही 'जनेत' का भी अर्थ है।

पंजाबी में घाव के ठीक होने पर जो नया मांस आता है, उसके लिए 'अंगूर' शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। यह कोई चमन या काबुल का अंगूर नहीं। यह अंकुर है। जिस प्रकार पौधे पर नई कोंपलें उगने पर कहा जाता है कि अंकुर आ रहा है। उसी तरह घाव के ठीक होने पर आने वाले नरम-नरम से नये मांस को अंकुर कहा जाता है। यहाँ अंकुर का व्यवहार पौधे के अंकुर के व्यवहार के साम्य से किया जाता है। असंस्कृतज्ञ व्यक्ति के लिये यह बताना नितान्त असम्भव है कि घाव के ठीक होने के बाद आने वाले मांस को अंगूर क्यों कहा जाता है। इसी अंकुर से सम्बद्ध एक और शब्द है जिसे प्रकरणानुरोध से यहाँ बता देना उचित ही होगा। रात को किसी बर्तन में चने भिगोइये। सुबह उनके कोने कुछ मुड़े हुए से एवं हरे हो जायेंगे। पंजाबी में इसे 'पुंगरना' कहते हैं। यह 'पुंगरना' 'पुनरंकुरण' है-फिर से अंकुर का उदय हो जाना। पौधे पर जब नया अंकुर आता है, तो वह हरा होता है और होता है बहुत मृदु। इसी तरह चने का कोना भी हरा एवं उपरि भाग की अपेक्षा अधिक मृदु हो जाता है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है, मानों चने में पुनः अंकुर आ रहा हो। इसी से कहा जाता है कि चना 'पुनरंकुरित' हो गया या पुंगर गया। पुनरंकुर से पुंगर की उत्पत्ति भाषा-विज्ञान के समाक्षर लोप (Law of haplology) के सिद्धांत के अनुसार हुई है। दो नासिक्य ध्वनियों में से एक को एवं दो रेफों में से एक को जाना ही था। उन्हें हटा दीजिए और पुंगर शब्द आप को मिल जाएगा।

पंजाब के किसी भी शहर की गली में आप ने सरसों का साग बेचने वाली किसी देहातिन की आवाज सुनी होगी-*लै लो सरों दा साग कूलियां गन्दलां* कह कर वह आप का ध्यान अपने साग की ओर बरबस खींच लेती है। पर कभी आप ने 'गन्दला' शब्द पर विचार किया। इस का 'गन्द' इस शब्द से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। यद्यपि हमारे कई संस्कृत-ज्ञान शून्य भाई ऐसा कहने का साहस करेंगे। गन्दला शब्द के गकार में सोष्मत्व को हटा दीजिए और आप को 'कन्दल' शब्द मिल जायेगा। 'कन्दल' शब्द शुद्ध संस्कृत का शब्द है। *न्यायकन्दली* यह एक न्याय का उत्तम ग्रन्थ है। यहाँ भी कन्दल शब्द है। कन्दल का अर्थ है नरम-नरम डण्ठल।

'द्वार' के लिये पढ़े-लिखे पंजाबी के घर में 'दरवाजा' शब्द प्रयोग में आता है। पर अनपढ़ देहाती आज भी 'बार' शब्द का प्रयोग करता है यह 'बार' द्वार ही है। भाषा-विज्ञान का सिद्धान्त है कि आदि के संयुक्त अक्षरों में से केवल एक ही शेष रहता है। यहाँ 'ब' या 'व' शेष रहा है। ठीक उसी तरह जिस तरह 'द्वाविंशति' के विकृत रूप 'बाईस' में। इस बार का प्रयोग 'बारी' में देखा जाता है। बारी पंजाबी में 'खिड़की' को कहते हैं। 'खिड़की' वास्तव में है क्या! छोटा सा द्वार या बार ही तो है। भाषा में जब किसी छोटी चीज़ को कहना हो-तो उसे स्त्री

प्रत्यय से कहते हैं जैसे घट-घटी (संस्कृत) पत्ता-पत्ती (हिन्दी) उसी तरह बार (द्वार)-बारी (द्वारी)।

एक समय मैं अपने एक मित्र जिन का घर अमृतसर के निकट है, से बातचीत कर रहा था। बात के सिलसिले में उन्होंने कहा—'*साड़ी पत्ती च ते सिर्फ ब्राह्मणां ते खत्रियां दे घर ने*' उस के 'पत्ती' शब्द ने बरबस मेरा ध्यान अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया। पत्ती का अर्थ मैंने अपने मित्र से पूछा। उसने बताया कि इस का अर्थ है, मुहल्ला। बस, क्षण भर में मुझे सूझ गया। यह पत्ती शब्द 'पंक्ति' से बना है। पंक्ति का अर्थ है-लाइन। संकुचित अर्थ में मकानों की लाइन। और मकानों की लाइन मुहल्ले में होती है, इसलिये पत्ती का अर्थ मुहल्ला हो गया। अथवा प्रारम्भ में गृह-पंक्ति शब्द रहा गया। संक्षेप में लोगों ने पंक्ति कहना शुरू कर दिया और इसी का यह अपभ्रंश 'पत्ती' शब्द है। यह वृक्षों से उतरने वाली पत्ती नहीं, पंक्ति की पत्ती है। समीकरण (Law of Assimilation) के द्वारा ककारोत्तरवर्त्ती तकार ने 'क' को भी अपना आकार दे दिया है और इस प्रकार पत्ती शब्द बना। एवञ्च, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि अमृतसर के पास के 'पट्टी' नाम के शहर का नाम भी कदाचित् ऐसे ही पड़ा हो।

पंजाबी में कहावत है—'*गुंलामदीन दे लारे ते परने वी रहे कुंवारे*' अर्थात् गुलामदीन के झूठे आश्वासनों का क्या कहना? ब्याहे हुए भी कुंवारे रह जाते हैं। कहावत में 'परने' शब्द विशेष ध्यान देने योग्य है। 'परने' का अर्थ-'शरीर पर लपेटने वाले साफे' नहीं अपितु 'ब्याहे हुए' है। इसका यह अर्थ कहाँ से आया? यहाँ भी संस्कृत की शरण ही जाना होगा। 'परना' शब्द परिणीत शब्द से बना है। अब ब्याह अर्थ स्पष्ट हो जाता है। संस्कृत में ब्याह के लिये केवल 'वि √वह्' धातु ही प्रयोग में नहीं आती थी, अपितु परि √नी धातु का भी प्रयोग था। इन दो धातुओं ने अपने उत्तराधिकारी छोड़ दिये हैं। वि √वह् का ब्याह बन गया और परि √नी का परना।

घरों में आम प्रयोग चलता है *मंजी डाह दयो* चारपाई गिरा दो। अब मंजी शब्द तो मञ्च का (मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति) छोटे मञ्च के अर्थ में स्त्री प्रत्ययान्त प्रयोग है। परंतु यह 'डाहना' शब्द क्या है? एक विचार यह है कि 'डाहना' शबद 'द्राघन' (दीर्घ करना) शब्द से निकला है। जब चारपाई उठी रहती है तब कम जगह घेरती है पर जब गिरा दी जाती है तो कुछ अधिक जगह घेरती है और कुछ चौड़ी सी लगती है। मालूम पड़ता है उसका 'द्राघन' हो गया हो। इसी डाहना का कुछ इसी प्रकार के अर्थ में अन्यत्र भी प्रयोग आता है। घर में स्त्रियाँ लगातार एक ही स्थान पर काम करने से ऊब कर पति पर खीज उठती हैं—'*तुसीं मैनू एत्थे ही डाह छड्डो।*' यहाँ भी दैर्घ्य का भाव स्पष्ट है और यह 'डाह' शब्द 'द्राघन' से ही बना है। 'डाह छड्डो' का अर्थ है लगातार यहीं काम करवाओ। द्राघन का अर्थ है—देर

तक करवाना, काम शब्द न कहने पर भी तदर्थ की अवगति हो जाने से 'देर तक काम करवाना' यह अर्थ हो जाता है।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि पंजाबी भाषा में अनेकानेक ऐसे शब्द पाए जाते हैं जिनका उद्भव संस्कृत से हुआ है। पढ़े-लिखे लोगों की भाषा में यद्यपि उर्दू और फ़ारसी के शब्दों का बाहुल्य है, तो भी सीधे-सादे किसान की भाषा में ये शब्द चुप-चाप पड़े हैं! देहाती-भाषा का अध्ययन करने पर पता चलता है कि पंजाबी शब्दों को समझने में संस्कृत कितनी सहायक है। इसके कुछेक उदाहरण हमारी तिज़ोरी में सञ्चित पड़े हैं, उन्हें लेखान्तर में पाठकों के सम्मुख उपस्थित किया जायगा।

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# मैकडानल कृत व्याकरण (छात्र संस्करण) का हिन्दी अनुवाद : समस्याएँ और समाधान

किसी भी देश और राष्ट्र के वाङ्मय को समृद्ध करने में अनुवाद का बहुत बड़ा हाथ होता है। इसी के माध्यम से अन्य भाषाओं की श्रेष्ठतम कृतियों को अपनाया जा सकता है और उन भाषाओं को न जानने वाले पाठकों के लिए सुलभ किया जा सकता है। इस तरह आदान-प्रदान से ज्ञान की सीमा निरन्तर विस्तृत होती चलती है। इसके सिवाय इतर भाषागत ज्ञान को आत्मसात् करने का कोई उपाय नहीं है। किसी भी देश की ज्ञान की दृष्टि से उन्नति का अनुमान उसके अनूदित साहित्य से लगाया जा सकता है। इधर पिछले वर्षों से राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में भी यह प्रवृत्ति दिखाई देने लगी है। यह इसकी उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति और समृद्धि का ही लक्षण है। न केवल वैज्ञानिक और तकनीकी ग्रन्थों का ही अपितु संस्कृत एवं प्राच्यविद्याविषयक नाना आलोचनात्मक अंग्रेजी ग्रन्थों का हिन्दी अनुवाद गत कतिपय वर्षों में प्रकाशित हुआ है। इसी कड़ी में ही मैकडानल कृत वैदिक व्याकरण (छात्र संस्करण) भी आता है। यह ग्रन्थ अपनी जटिलता और दुरूहता के कारण संस्कृत के विद्यार्थी वर्ग के लिए एक समस्या बना हुआ है। ग्रन्थ प्रामाणिक है इसलिए देश भर में इसका पठन-पाठन प्रचलित है। इसका प्रामाणिक हिन्दी अनुवाद तैयार करने का काम जब दिसम्बर 1961 में मुझे सौंपा गया तो मैंने माँ भारती की सेवा करने का एक सुअवसर समझ इसे स्वीकार किया। यद्यपि इस कार्य में जो कठिनाइयाँ आने वाली थीं उनसे मैं सर्वथा अपरिचित न था। यह अपने ढंग का पहला प्रयास था। पाश्चात्य लेखक द्वारा लिखित किसी भी व्याकरण का --वैदिक व्याकरण का तो प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता--अब तक अनुवाद नहीं हुआ था। अतः मेरे सामने कोई भी आदर्श अनुवाद नहीं था जिससे मैं लाभ उठा सकता। एक तो व्याकरण का विषय यूँ ही जटिल होता है उस पर मैकडानल की शैली जिसमें एक वाक्य कभी-कभी आठ-आठ दस-दस पंक्तियों तक चलता चला है

अनुवाद कार्य को और भी क्लिष्ट बना रहा था। किंच ग्रीक और लैटिन का विद्वान् होने के कारण मैकडानल उन भाषाओं के व्याकरण के पारिभाषिक शब्दों से सुपरिचित था अतः उसने अपने वैदिक व्याकरण में भी उन्हीं का प्रयोग किया। उन पारिभाषिक शब्दों का हिन्दी समानान्तर रूप ढूँढना कठिन हो गया। केवल इतना ही नहीं बल्कि मैकडानल की सम्पूर्ण पद्धति ही अपने यहाँ की स्वर-वैदिकी प्रक्रियादि की पद्धति से भिन्न थी। पहले उस पद्धति को हृदयंगम करना आवश्यक था, उसके भीतर पैठना, उसे आत्मसात् करना आवश्यक था, तभी उस अतुल-ज्ञान-राशि महर्षिकल्प मैकडानल के साथ न्याय करने का साहस किया जा सकता था। जब मैंने अनुवाद कार्य प्रारम्भ किया तो ये सब विघ्न बाधाएँ मेरे सामने मुँह बाये खड़ी थीं।। मुझे ऐसा लगता था कि मैंने अपने हाथ में एक ऐसे काम को ले लिया है जिसके विषय में मुझे स्वयं सन्देह होने लगा था कि मैं इसे कभी पूरा भी कर पाऊँगा या नहीं। इसी ऊहापोह में कुछ समय बीत गया। समस्याओं की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही थी। इसी बीच विश्वविद्यालय का ग्रीष्मावकाश आ गया जिसे बिताने मैं शिमला गया। साथ में यह उद्देश्य भी था कि वहाँ की शीतल स्वास्थ्यप्रद जलवायु में कार्य की गति कुछ आगे बढ़ सकेगी। वहाँ मेरी भेंट प्रिय मित्र डा. सीताराम सहगल से हुई। उन्होंने वेद पर काम किया था। मैंने अपनी समस्याएँ उनके सामने रखीं। यूँ भी मुझे जो कोई मिल जाता था उसके सामने मैं अपनी समस्याएँ रखता था। डॉ. सहगल ने मुझे सुझाव दिया कि अच्छा यही होगा कि मैं अपनी समस्याएँ—विशेषकर पारिभाषिक शब्दों के हिन्दी रूपान्तरों की समस्याएँ—पत्र में लिखकर वेद एवं भाषा-विज्ञान के प्रमुख विद्वानों को भेजूँ। फिर उनसे जो सुझाव प्राप्त हों उन सब पर विचार कर किसी एक को अंगीकर कर लूँ। मुझे यह सुझाव पसन्द आया और यहीं से ही मेरे कार्य के दूसरे अध्याय—समस्याओं का समाधान—का प्रारम्भ हुआ।

मैंने भारत में अनेक विद्वानों को पत्र लिखे जिनमें से अधिकांश के उत्तर मेरे पास ये आये कि उन्होंने कभी इन समस्याओं पर विचार नहीं किया। अतः वे किसी भी प्रकार की सहायता देने में असमर्थ हैं। कुछ ने बाद में समाधान भेजने का वायदा किया जो उन्होंने पूरा नहीं किया। कुछ ने मुझे अपने पितृपाद पं. चारुदेवजी शास्त्री से ही इस विषय में सहायता लेने के लिए कहा। शेष कुछ ने मेरी समस्याओं पर विचार किया और मुझे उत्तर लिख भेजे। इस अन्तिम कोटि के विद्वानों में विशेष उल्लेखनीय हैं प्रातःस्मरणीय विद्वान्, भाषाशास्त्र के अग्रगण्य मनीषी डॉ. सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा जिन्होंने मुझे पग-पग पर सहायता दी। जब भी मुझे कहीं कोई कठिनाई होती थी, मुझे मार्ग नहीं सूझता था, मैं तत्काल एक पोस्टकार्ड श्रीचरणों को भेज देता था और जितनी शीघ्रता से मैं पत्र भेजता था शायद उससे अधिक शीघ्रता से उनका उत्तर आ जाता था। मेरी शंकाओं का उन्होंने पग-पग पर

समाधान किया है, मेरे विघ्नों और मेरी बाधाओं को उन्होंने क्षण-क्षण में दूर किया है। वे दूर रहकर भी मेरे कितने निकट रहे हैं। उनकी सक्रिय सहायता के बिना मैं मैकडानल की आत्मा को ठीक से पहचान नहीं सकता था। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ के कितने ही अंशों में भूल हो सकती थी यदि उनका वरदहस्त मेरे सिर पर न होता। ऐसे उदार, शब्दपाणि, भक्तवत्सल, ऋषि के चरणों में मेरा कोटि-कोटि प्रणाम।

इस कार्य में मुझे पूज्यपाद पितृचरण से भी बहुत सहायता मिली है। मान्य विद्वानों से पारिभाषिक शब्दों के हिन्दी अनुवाद के विषय में जो-जो सुझाव प्राप्त हुए उन पर मैं उनसे घण्टों विचार करता रहा हूँ। इस विचार के बाद जो अपनी क्षुद्र बुद्धि को उचिततम जान पड़े उन्हीं को प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में मैंने अपनाया है पर इनसे उन सुझावों में किसी प्रकार की कोई कमी है यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। यह रुचि का प्रश्न है, *भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः*। वे सभी सुझाव आदर के पात्र हैं और गहनतर विचार के भी यद्यपि मुझे वे पत्रों द्वारा व्यक्तिगत रूप से प्राप्त हुए हैं अथवा वाचिक रूप से उपलब्ध हुए हैं तो भी उन्हें अपनी व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति मैं नहीं मानता। वे राष्ट्र की निधि हैं। इसीलिए उन्हें नीचे एक तालिका के रूप में उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ जिससे कि भविष्य में जो कोई भी व्यक्ति इन ग्रन्थ का अथवा इस जैसे किसी ग्रन्थ का अनुवाद करना चाहे तो उसे भी यह सामग्री उपलब्ध हो और अपनी बुद्धि और विवेक से वह इसका उपयोग कर सके। सम्भव है जिन सुझावों को अपनाने में मैं सफल न हो सका उनके मूल्य और गहराई को वह समझ सके और अपना सके। यह जनता की सम्पत्ति है इसे जनता के पास जाना ही चाहिये।

## विद्वानों से प्राप्त अंग्रेजी के हिन्दी रूपों के सुझावों की तालिका

| अंग्रजी शब्द | डॉ. सिद्धश्वर वर्मा का सुझाव | डॉ. मंगलदेव शास्त्री का सुझाव | डॉ. धर्मेन्द्र नाथ शास्त्री का सुझाव | पं. चारुदेव शास्त्री का सुझाव |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aorist system | निर्विकरण रूपक | - | - | - |
| Attributive Adj. | पूर्वस्थ विशेषण | - | - | - |
| Auxiliary Verb | सहायक क्रिया | - | - | - |
| Cognate accusative | अनुरूपी कर्म | सजाति (सहज कर्म) कर्म क्रिया-भिन्न | - | समानधातुज कर्म |
| Cognate verb | . | . | . | समानधातुज क्रियापद |

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| Demonstrative pronoun | निर्देशक सर्वनाम | – | – | निर्देशक सर्वनाम |
| Enclitic Finite | पुरुषी | संश्रित | – | पुरुषवचन परिच्छिन्न क्रियापद |
| Gerund | 'करता हुआ' कृदन्त | पूर्वकालिक कृदन्त | क्रियानिष्पन्न संज्ञा | क्त्वाद्यन्त |
| Indicative | निरुपाधिक | कालमात्र वाचक | – | – |
| Infinite | अपुरुषी | – | – | पुरुषवचन परिच्छिन्न क्रियापद |
| Infinitive | 'करना' कृदन्त या तुम् कृदन्त | भाववाचक | भाववाचक, क्रियासूचक | – – |
| Injunctive | लुङ् मूलक लोट् | लोट् (1) | आज्ञार्थक | – |
| Isaorist | इष्-लुङ् | | | |
| Mood | प्रकारता | क्रियाप्रकार | प्रकार | |
| Multiplicative | बारसूचक | | | |
| Adverb | क्रियाविशेषण | – | – | |
| Nominal Stem | संज्ञा प्रकृति | – | – | नामप्रकृति |
| Noun | – | – | – | नामपद |
| Optative | इच्छाविधिलिङ् | – | – | विधिलिङ् |
| Participle | काल कृदन्त | कालबोधक कृदन्त | कृदन्त | शत्राद्यन्त |
| Pause | विराम | – | – | – |
| Periphrastic mood | वाक्यांशी प्रकारता | – | – | – |
| Periphrastic tense | – | – | – | आमन्त लिट् |
| Pluperfect | 'क्रिया था' भूत | लिडात्मक या लिट् प्रतिरूपक | | लिट् प्रतिरूपक |
| Possessive | बहुव्रीहि | – | – | – |

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| compound | स्वामित्व (विशेषण) समास, बहुव्रीहि | | | |
| Possessive pronoun | स्वामित्वसूचक सर्वनाम | - | - | - |
| Predicative adjective | पश्चस्थ विशेषण | - | - | - |
| Present system | सविकरणक रूप | - | - | - |
| Primary suffix | कृदन्त प्रत्यय | - | - | - |
| Primary verb | गणरूप (गणात्मक रूप) | - | - | - |
| Reduplicative aorist | अभ्यास-लुङ् | - | - | साभ्यास लुङ् |
| Reflexive pronoun | स्वामिसूचक सर्वनाम | - | - | - |
| Rhotacism | रेफीकरण | - | - | - |
| S-aorist | स्-लुङ् | - | - | - |
| Secondary suffix | तद्धित प्रत्यय | - | - | - |
| Secondary verb | प्रक्रियारूप (गणेतर रूप) | - | - | - |
| Sis-aorist | सिष्-लुङ् | - | - | - |
| Sonant nasal | स्वरोन्मुख अनुनासिक | सघोष अनुनासिक | स्वनन्त नासिक्य | - |
| Spirant | ऊष्म | सङ्घर्षी | | |
| Subjunctive | लेट् | लेट् (2) | - | लेट् |
| Surd | अघोष | - | - | विकरण बोधक |
| Thematic | - | - | - | अट् या आट् आगम |
| Velar | पश्च (जिह्वा-पश्चभाग) | - | - | - |
| Vocalic | स्वरी | - | - | स्वरीय |

प्रस्तुत अनुवाद में एक-एक परिभाषिक शब्द का ठीक-ठीक हिन्दी रूप ढूँढ़ने के लिए कितना प्रयास किया गया इसे स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन एक उदाहरण से स्पष्ट किया जा रहा है। मैकडानल ने अपने व्याकरण में Infinitive शब्द का अनेक स्थानों पर प्रयोग किया है। इसका 'भाववाचक कृदन्त' अनुवाद पूज्य पिताजी को जँचा नहीं। 'घ' आदि के भी भाववाचक कृदन्त होने के कारण अतिव्याप्ति होने का डर था। 'तुम् कृदन्त' में उन्हें अव्याप्ति का भय था क्योंकि वेद में केवल तुम् प्रत्यय ही नहीं है, इस अर्थ के अनेक प्रत्यय हैं। खोज जारी रही। खोज करते-करते यह सूझा कि आचार्य पाणिनि के सामने भी सम्भवतः यह समस्या आई थी और इसीलिए उन्होंने अपने सूत्र 'तुमर्थे सेअसेनध्यैअध्यैन्' इत्यादि में 'तुमर्थ' शब्द का प्रयोग किया। तो क्या 'तुमर्थ कृदन्त' उचित रहेगा। आपाततः तो यह रमणीय लगा पर और विचार करने पर एक अन्य समस्या सामने आई और वह यह थी कि मैकडानल इस Infinitive शब्द के साथ अनेक बार Dative, Locative आदि विशेषण शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं तो यदि Infinitive का अनुवाद 'तुमर्थ कृदन्त' किया जाता है तो Dative Infinitive का अनुवाद क्या 'चतुर्थ्यन्त तुमर्थ कृदन्त' किया जाय? पर इस स्थिति में अर्थ शब्द की आवृत्ति के कारण शब्दसौष्ठव नहीं रहेगा। तो फिर क्या विभक्ति के स्थान पर कारक का प्रयोग किया जाय-'सम्प्रदानवाची तुमर्थ कृदन्त'? कुछ क्षणों के लिए यह सुझाव ठीक जँचा पर इस पर आपत्ति यह थी कि मैकडानल को कारक शायद अभीष्ट नहीं था, विभक्ति ही थी। वास्तव में Dative Infinitive में उनका अभिप्राय उस तुमर्थ प्रत्ययान्त रूप से था जो कि चतुर्थ्यन्तरूप के समकक्ष था। शब्दान्तर में 'परादै', 'प्रख्यै' इत्यादि रूपों में मैकडानल को चतुर्थीविभक्ति की स्मृति हो आती थी, इसी प्रकार 'नेषणि', 'गृणीषणि' आदि में ('पितरि', 'धातरि' के सादृश्य पर) सप्तमी विभक्ति की। इस परिस्थिति में 'सम्प्रदानवाची तुमर्थ कृदन्त' शब्द बहुत उपयुक्त न होता। सर्वोत्तम शब्द इसके लिए चतुर्थीप्रतिरूपक तुमर्थ कृदन्त (इसी प्रकार द्वितीयाप्रतिरूपक तुमर्थ कृदन्त, पंचमीप्रतिरूपक तुमर्थ कृदन्त, षष्ठी प्रतिरूपक तुमर्थ कृदन्त और सप्तमी प्रतिरूपक तुमर्थ कृदन्त) ही सबसे सुन्दर जँचा और अन्त में इसे ही प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में अपना लिया गया। लेखक के भाव को ठीक पकड़ पाने की मेरी इस उत्कट इच्छा ने ही मुझे इस दिशा में सतत यत्नशील रखा और निरन्तर चिन्तन के लिए बाध्य किया। डॉ. सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा के शब्दों में—'Good is the enemy of better', अच्छा अधिक अच्छे का शत्रु है, ही मेरा लक्ष्य रहा है। जिस किसी सुझाव के विषय में मुझे लगा कि इसमें लेखक के भाव की सही पकड़ है वही मुझे सर्वोत्तम जँचा। उदाहरण के रूप में Sonant nasal के 'स्वनन्त नासिक्य' 'संघोष अनुनासिक' आदि हिन्दी रूपों की अपेक्षा डॉ. सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा का 'स्वरोन्मुख अनुनासिक' ही मुझे सर्वोत्कृष्ट जँचा और यही मैंने समूचे ग्रन्थ में

अपना लिया। इसी प्रकार का इनका एक अन्य सुझाव भी मुझे उत्तम जँचा और वह भी मैंने इस ग्रन्थ में अपना लिया। वह था Injunctive के लिए 'लुङ्मूलक लोट्' का प्रयोग।

प्रस्तुत व्याकरंण के लिए मेरा यह दृष्टिकोण रहा है कि जहाँ तक सम्भव हो ऐसे शब्दों का ही इसमें प्रयोग किया जाए जिनसे हम सुपरिचित हों और जिनके माध्यम से लेखक का भाव सुस्पष्ट हो सके। दृष्टान्त के लिऐ मैकडानल के Positionally long के लिए यदि 'संयोगे गुरु' या 'संयोगवशात् गुरु' शब्दों का व्यवहार किया जाए तो उनका भाव जिस प्रकार स्फुट होगा उस प्रकार अन्य किन्हीं शब्दों से नहीं।

स्वाभिप्रायाविष्करण में सुगमता की इस प्रवृत्ति ने ही मुझे Participle आदि शब्दों के लिए 'कालबोधक कृदन्त' आदि नवनिर्मित शब्दों के स्थान पर प्रकरणानुसार शत्रन्त, शानजन्त, क्वसुकानजन्त, क्तान्त, क्तवत्वन्त आदि शब्दों के प्रयोग के लिए बाध्य किया। जहाँ इन सभी का अभिप्राय था वहाँ आदि शब्द का सहारा लिया गया, जैसे शत्राद्यन्त रूप। इस प्रकार Gerund के लिए 'क्त्वादि प्रत्यय' शब्दों का व्यवहार किया गया (वेद में क्त्वा के साथ-साथ क्त्वाय, क्त्वीन, ल्यप् आदि अनेक प्रत्यय पाये जाते हैं)। लोक में शतृ, क्त, क्त्वा आदि शब्द सुप्रचलित हैं ही। इनका एवंच एतदर्थक अन्य प्रत्ययों का बोधन यदि कराना हो तो इन्हीं के साथ आदि लगाने से अर्थ विद्यार्थी-वर्ग को सुगमता से समझ आ सकेगा यही मेरा विचार है।

ऐसा समझा गया है कि प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ उन विद्यार्थियों के हाथों में भी जा सकता है जिन्हें अंग्रेज़ी का सर्वथा ज्ञान नहीं है पर जो वैदिक व्याकरण का पाश्चात्य पद्धति से परिचय प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं। इसलिए प्रकरणानुसार प्रत्याहारादि का प्रयोग भी ग्रन्थ में किया गया है—अच्, हल् आदि। अजादि विभक्तियाँ, हलादि विभक्तियाँ, प्रातिपदिक, उपधा आदि शब्द भी इसी कोटि के अन्तर्गत आते हैं। कालेजीय पद्धति के विद्यार्थी भी संस्कृत व्याकरण के इन सामान्य शब्दों से अपरिचित नहीं रहे हैं, अतः इनके प्रयोग में मुझे कोई अनौचित्य नहीं दिखाई दिया। क्योंकि, जैसा कि ऊपर कहा गया है, यह पुस्तक अंग्रेज़ी से सर्वथा अनभिज्ञ संस्कृत विद्यार्थियों के हाथ में भी जानी थी इसलिये अनूदित पारिभाषिक शब्दों के साथ-साथ मूल अंग्रेज़ी शब्दों को रोमन लिपि में कोष्ठकों में देना अनावश्यक समझा गया। पुस्तक के अन्त में मूल अंग्रेज़ी शब्दों और उनके हिन्दी रूपों की एक सूची दे दी गई है जिस पर दृष्टिपात मात्र से यह पता चल सकता है कि कौन शब्द किसका अनुवाद है। हर बार कोष्ठक में अंग्रेजी रूप देना निःसन्देह अंग्रेज़ी पठित वर्ग के लिए अधिक सुविधाजनक होता पर एक तो इसमें आवृत्ति दोष था और दूसरे अंग्रेज़ी से अपरिचित विद्यार्थियों के लिए यह अनावश्यक था। अतः इस

पद्धति में विशेष लाभ नहीं दिखाई दिया। इसीलिये इसे नहीं अपनाया गया।

प्रस्तुत व्याकरण में एक नया प्रयोग किया गया है। ग्रीक भाषा के जिन शब्दों को लेखक ने ग्रीक लिपि में ग्रन्थ में दिया था उन्हें प्रस्तुत अनुवाद में देवनागरी लिपि में दे दिया गया है। यह अब तक की पद्धति से भिन्न है जिसके अनुसार अनुवाद में भी ग्रीक शब्दों को या तो ग्रीक लिपि में ही रहने दिया जाता है या रोमन लिपि में उन्हें प्रस्तुत कर अपने कर्तव्य की इतिश्री समझ ली जाती है। ग्रीक लिपि में ही उन शब्दों को लिखते जाना हिन्दी जानने वाले विद्यार्थियों के लिए स्पष्ट ही व्यर्थ था, रोमन लिपि में लिखना भी केवल संस्कृत जानने वाले विद्यार्थियों के लिए व्यर्थ था। अतः उन्हें देवनागरी में प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास इस व्याकरण में किया गया है। हो सकता है यह प्रयास त्रुटिपूर्ण हो, कतिपय ग्रीक ध्वनियाँ अपना स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व रखती हैं, उनका हिन्दी की समकक्ष ध्वनि द्वारा प्रतिनिधित्व कर पाना सम्भव नहीं, तो भी प्रयास—और वह भी प्रथम प्रयास—की दृष्टि से आशा है विद्वद्गण भ्रान्तियों और त्रुटियों को क्षमा करेंगे। 'अष्ट' के साथ यदि देवनागरी में ही 'होक्तो' लिखा जाए या 'द्वादश' के साथ 'दोदेका' लिखा जाए तो दोनों का साम्य जिस प्रकार विद्यार्थी को स्पष्ट होता है उस प्रकार अष्ट o'ktw' या द्वादश-sw'seka लिखने पर नहीं। इसमें कुछ दुराग्रहियों को अवश्य विप्रतिपत्ति हो सकती है, अन्य लोग सम्भवतः इसका स्वागत ही करेंगे। सर्वत्र मेरी दृष्टि विषय के स्पष्टीकरण की ओर ही रही है।

कथ्य विषय विद्यार्थियों को सरल सुगम भाषा के माध्यम से हृदयंगम हो जाए इसके लिए मैं सदा सर्वदा प्रयत्नशील रहा हूँ। इसमें मैं कहाँ तक सफल हो सका हूँ इसका निर्णय वे स्वयं करेंगे। मेरा अधिकार कर्म में ही है, फल में नही।

पुस्तक को यथासाध्य मैकडानल के ग्रन्थ का प्रतिबिम्ब बनाने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। वैदिक शब्दों, उनके अर्थों, उनपर टिप्पणों सभी को भिन्न-भिन्न टाइप में दिया गया है।

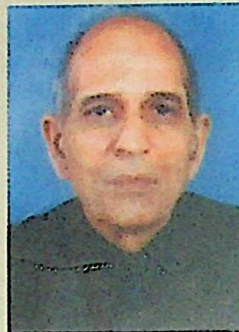
मैंने अनुवाद में भी स्वरांकन की पाश्चात्य पद्धति को ही अपनाया है जिसके अनुसार उदात्त दायीं ओर तिर्यक् चिह्न ( ͵ ) के द्वारा चिह्नित किया जाता है और स्वरित को बायीं और तिर्यक् चिह्न ( ˏ ) से। अनुदात्त इस पद्धति में अचिह्नित ही रहता है। इसे वैदिक पद्धति पर ढालना एक जटिल काम होता। समूचे ग्रन्थ का स्वरांकन परिवर्तन आवश्यक हो जाता। और फिर वेद में भी तो कोई एक प्रकार की स्वरांकन पद्धति नहीं है। उसमें स्वयं में कम-से-कम छः भिन्न-भिन्न पद्धतियों का प्रचलन है। तो यदि एक नयी पद्धति और प्रचलित हो जाए तो इसमें क्या हानि!

इसी प्रकार धातु रूपावली में भी मूल ग्रन्थ के उत्तम पुरुष, मध्यम पुरुष, प्रथम पुरुष (First Person, Second Person, Third Person) क्रम को तदवस्थ

रखा गया है। यद्यपि यह अभारतीय है—पर अभारतीय तो समूचा ग्रन्थ ही है-तो भी इसे वैसे ही अपना लिया गया है। बहुमत इसी ओर था। मित्रों का आग्रह था कि संस्कृत के विद्यार्थियों को भी पाश्चात्य क्रम एवं व्यवस्था से परिचित कराना चाहिए। अन्यच्च, इसका एक व्यावहारिक पक्ष भी था। यदि भारतीय पद्धति के अनुसार पुरुष क्रम रखा जाता- प्रथम पुरुष, मध्यम पुरुष, उत्तम पुरुष, तो मूल पाठ में क्रिया रूपों के ऊपर नीचे हो जाने से सैंकड़ों पाद टिप्पणों के क्रम में परिवर्तन करना पड़ता जोकि किसी भी अनुवादक के लिए यदि असाध्य नहीं तो सुतरां कठिन अवश्य होता। और फिर भेद तो क्रम में ही है, इससे रूपों में तो कोई अन्तर नहीं आता। प्रथम पुरुष के रूप प्रथम पुरुष के ही रहेंगे और उत्तम पुरुष के उत्तम पुरुष के ही। इस दृष्टि से सारे ग्रन्थ में व्याप्त क्रम में परिवर्तन करना महाभाष्यकार के शब्दों में महान् वंश-स्तम्ब से लट्वा को खींच निकालना होता (*सेयं महतो वंशस्तम्बाल्लट्वानुकृष्यते, आह्निक 2*)।

इस महान् यज्ञ में जिन-जिन विद्वानों ने अपनी-अपनी आहुतियाँ डाली हैं उनका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूँ। उनकी, विशेषकर डॉ॰ सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा और पूज्यपाद पिताजी की, सहायता के बिना यह ग्रन्थ पूरा न हो सकता था। मैं उनके प्रति नतमस्तक हूँ। अन्त में केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अनुवाद में जो कुछ भूलें या त्रुटियाँ हैं वे सब मेरी हैं, जो जो अच्छाइयाँ है वे सब उनकी हैं—

*यदत्र सौष्ठवं किंचित्तद् गुरोरेव मे नहि।*
*यदत्रासौष्ठवं किंचित्तन्ममैव गुरोर्नहि।।*

□□□

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Born on 29th September, 1930, Professor Satya Vrat Shastri had his early education under his father, Professor Charu Deva Shastri. He received record marks in B.A. Hons. in Sanskrit and a First Class First in M.A. in Sanskrit from the Punjab University, and won University Medals. After doing his Ph.D. at the Banaras Hindu University he joined the University of Delhi, where during the forty years of his teaching career he has held important positions as the Head of the Department of Sanskrit and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He was also Vice-Chancellor of Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri, Orissa. He has the distinction of having been visiting professor in five universities on three continents. He has attended and chaired a number of national and international conferences and seminars and delivered more than a hundred lectures in universities in Europe, North America, Southeast Asia and the Far East.

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He has translated A.A. Macdonell's *A Vedic Grammar for Students* into Hindi, the Sanskrit Mahākāvya the *Śrīrāmacaritābdhiratnam* into English and the select poems of the prominent poets of the world into Sanskrit.

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